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On December 25, 1925, Dr. Karl Abraham, President and founder of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society and President for the time being of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, died in Berlin. He had not yet reached the age of fifty years when he succumbed to an illness against which his vigorous physique had been struggling ever since the early summer. At the Congress at Homburg his apparent recovery delighted us all; but to our grievous disappointment there followed a relapse.

We bury with him—*integer vitæ scelerisque purus*—one of the surest hopes we had for our science, young as it is and still so bitterly assailed, and a part of its future which will now, perhaps, never come to fruition. So high a place had he won for himself that, of all who have followed me through the dark pathways of psycho-analytic research, there is only one whose name could be put beside his. Colleagues and younger workers had an unbounded faith in him, so that it is likely that the leadership would have been his. And indeed, he would have been a model leader in the pursuit of truth, led astray neither by the praise and blame of the many nor by the tempting illusion of his own phantasies.

I am writing these lines for friends and fellow-workers who knew and valued him as I did. They will easily understand what the loss of this friend, who was so much younger than myself, means to me, and they will forgive me if I make no further attempt to express things for which it is hard to find words. An account of Abraham's scientific personality and an appreciation of his work will be written for our Journal by another hand.

SIGM. FREUD.

ORIGINAL PAPERS

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SEXUALITY AND ALCOHOLISM [1]

BY

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It is an undisputed fact that, generally speaking, men are more prone to indulgence in alcohol than women. Though there are places where it is as much a matter of course for women to drink as for men, and others where drunken women are frequently to be seen in the streets, yet alcohol is never bound up with the social life of women in the way it is with that of men. There are large circles of people who regard addiction to drink in men as a token of manliness or even make it a point of honour, but social custom never strictly imposes on women the obligation to drink; our customary moral code is rather inclined to call drinking unwomanly, and it is never a subject of boasting amongst normal women, as it is amongst men.

It seems to me worth while to try to find out whether this different attitude of the two sexes towards alcohol is based on a difference in their sexuality. An investigation of this sort must be based on the more recent conceptions of the psychosexual constitution in men and women, as laid down especially in the works of Freud.[2]

As the study of evolution shows, our bodies contain the rudiments of the genital organs of both sexes. In the course of normal development one set of the rudimentary organs becomes less prominent or takes on other functions, whilst the other continues to develop until it is able to fulfil its functions. A process which is altogether analogous takes place in the psychosexual sphere. Here also the differentiation of the sexes proceeds from an original condition of bisexuality. In childhood the manifestations of the sexual impulse are still very similar in boys and in girls.

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[1] First published in 1908, in the *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*. The paper is reprinted here because of its historical importance, being the first psycho-analytical one on the subject of alcoholism, and because of its being otherwise so inaccessible.

[2] *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905.

As we have learnt, especially through Freud's researches, children are by no means lacking in sexual feeling. The function of reproduction alone is still deferred, and it is only gradually that the instinct acquires its definitive direction. As Freud makes clear, the infantile libido has no object, it is ' auto-erotic '. It aims at experiencing pleasure through the stimulation of certain regions of the body which act as erotogenic zones. Nevertheless, in the years before puberty not all the sexual energies are employed in auto-erotic gratification ; a considerable part of them is repressed, forced out of consciousness, to be employed no longer in the direction of sex but to take over important social functions. ' Repression ' is a conception introduced by Freud, and it is indispensable for the understanding of many psychological processes, both normal and morbid. For the deflection of repressed sexual ideas and emotions to social goals we use Freud's term ' sublimation '. In both sexes it is this process which imposes restrictions upon the sexual instinct.

With the onset of maturity boys and girls alike acquire the pronounced physical and psychical characteristics of their respective sexes. In the psychosexual sphere the important process of choice of object takes place. The libido is now directed towards the opposite sex. But it is not in this respect alone that the male and female libido are differentiated : there is another difference which is of interest in our present discussion. Female sexuality shows a greater proneness to repression and the forming of resistances. In women, the infantile sexual repression is heavily reinforced at puberty—gains as it were fresh impetus, and from this there results the more passive sexual instinct of the woman. The male libido is of a more active character. By means of its aggressive components it overcomes the psychical resistances which it encounters in the sexual object. The psychosexual difference between the two sexes finds expression in our language : we say that the man ' takes possession of the woman ' and the woman ' yields herself '.

Alcoholic drinks have an effect on the sexual instinct, for they dispel the resistances present and increase sexual activity. This is a matter of common knowledge, which, however, is usually taken for granted and not enquired into further.

The more the problem of sexuality is investigated, the more complicated we perceive the sexual instinct to be. Side by side with ' normal ' heterosexual love it includes a whole series of ' perverse ' tendencies. The child's sexual instinct displays the chaotic variety

of these impulses: the child is 'polymorphously perverse', and it is only gradually that the 'component-instincts' are brought into subjection to the single, heterosexual impulse. They succumb to repression and sublimation, and out of these arise modesty and disgust, moral, æsthetic and social emotions, pity and dread, the child's dutiful attitude towards its parents and the parents' love and care for the child. The activities of art and science are largely based on the sublimation of sexual energies,[3] and on these products of sublimation rests our social life, our whole civilization. There is not one of them which would not be either injured or destroyed by the effects of alcohol.

In the normal individual the homosexual component of the sexual instinct yields to sublimation. The feelings of harmony and friendship which exist between men are denuded of all that is consciously sexual. To a healthy-minded man any kind of tender contact with other men is repugnant. I could cite a number of instances of similar feelings of repugnance or disgust having their origin in the same source. These feelings are dispelled by alcohol. When drinking, men fall on each other's necks and kiss one another; they feel that they are united by peculiarly intimate ties and this moves them to tears and to intimate modes of address. The same men, when sober, would call behaviour of this sort 'womanish'. Of recent years there have been incidents which have led to a great deal of talk about 'abnormal friendships between men'. The expressions of feeling which in these cases were branded as morbid or immoral may be observed, by anyone who has eyes to see, wherever men are drinking heavily; and every drinking-bout is tinged with homosexuality. The homosexual component-instincts, which education has taught us to repress and sublimate, reappear in no veiled form under the influence of alcohol.

A pair of component-instincts whose significance Freud was the first rightly to appreciate consists in sexual pleasure in looking or being looked at (scoptophilia and exhibitionism). Sexual curiosity is closely bound up with these tendencies. The product of their sublimation is the sense of modesty. In the first years of life a child is without any sense of modesty: he has to be taught 'embarrassment'. If the sublimation is unsuccessful, a perversion arises (the individual becomes a *voyeur* or an exhibitionist). Later the sense of modesty not only is felt in regard to bodily exposure, but it imposes formidable restrictions upon social intercourse, conversation, etc. It is just these barriers

[3] Cf. Freud, op. cit.; and Rank, *Der Künstler, Ansätze zu einer Sexualpsychologie*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1907.

which give way before alcohol. Together with the enjoyment of alcohol that of obscene jokes is inseparably connected ; this form of pleasure, according to Freud's [4] fine analysis, represents a denudation mentally. Forel [5] has shown in a masterly manner how, under the influence of alcohol, ' flirtations ' assume brutal and repulsive forms.

There is another pair of instincts, also, like the last, related to one another as active to passive, which impel the subject either towards mastery over the sexual object or to subjection to that object's will. Through sublimation of these tendencies there arise the emotions of pity, dread and so forth. If sublimation does not take place we are faced with the perversions known respectively as sadism and masochism. It is scarcely necessary to mention the fact that many brutal crimes are committed by persons in a state of alcoholic intoxication, but the repressed component-instincts do not necessarily find outlet in this crude form ; we recognize them in more disguised manifestations. From the most primitive times there have been drinking customs and laws ; the master of the revels is an absolute monarch. I would remind my readers of the still customary students' code (*Komment*) with the inexorable compulsion to drink which it imposes, and of the pride and pleasure with which an older student forces a younger to drink and the blind submission of the latter to the orders of the former. I know that in thus interpreting these customs I shall encounter opposition ; I would therefore point out that students' drinking customs have evolved gradually out of incredibly savage practices into the civilized forms which they assume at the present day.

There is another important restriction of the sexual instinct to be mentioned. The normal, growing child transfers his libido in the first instance to those persons in his immediate surroundings who are of the opposite sex : the boy to his mother and sister, the girl to her father and brother. A long period of evolution in the history of civilization was required before the closest blood-relations of an individual were excluded from his object-choice. The condemnation of incest led to the sublimation of parental love, while the children's love was transformed into a dutiful respect for the parents. Every child has to re-enact this evolution : at a certain period of its life it directs its dawning sexual desires to the parent of the opposite sex. These impulses undergo repression, just as our moral code condemns an unsublimated desire in a father for his daughter. These sublimations also are not respected

[4] *Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten.*

[5] Forel, *Die sexuelle Frage.*

by alcohol. Lot's daughters knew that alcohol breaks down the incest barriers, and they attained their object by making their father drunk.

We often see it stated that alcohol removes mental inhibitions. We have now learnt the nature of these inhibitions: they are the products of the sublimation of sexual energies.

At the same time as the sexual impulses re-emerge the man normally experiences an accession of sexual activity, which results in a sense of increased sexual capacity. Alcohol stimulates the 'complex' of masculinity.[6] In animal life we see many examples of the pride of the male. *Mutatis mutandis* we meet with similar manifestations in human beings. The man is proud of being the begetter, the giver, while the woman 'receives'.[7]

Analysis of the myths of creation reveals in a surprising manner how deeply this complex of greatness is rooted in the male mind. In a paper shortly to be published [8] I propose to show in detail that the creation-legends of different races ultimately represent an apotheosis of the procreative power of the male, and hence that they proclaim this power as the principle of all life. In myths the procreative power of man is treated as identical and interchangeable with the creative power of God. Here we come upon a psychological process of exceptional importance. We can see it operating in every creation of human phantasy, whether the productions be those of the phantasy of individuals or of groups, whether they be normal or morbid. We call this process *identification.*

A question which was bound to occupy mankind from earliest times, but which even to-day we are still unable to answer satisfactorily, is that of the process by which 'sexual excitation' arises. The assumption that in men the excitation proceeds from the semen was a very obvious one. Now the naïve imagination of the masses identifies intoxicating drink, on account of its property of producing sexual excitation, with semen or whatever other unknown agent

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[6] By the abbreviated expression 'complex' I denote (following the example of the psychological works emanating from the Zürich Psychiatrical Clinic) a complex of ideas, with the accompanying affects, which in certain circumstances is repressed into the unconscious but, if circumstances alter, may force its way back into consciousness.

[7] [German '*empfangen*' = also 'to conceive'.]

[8] *Traum und Mythus.* Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde Heft 4, Vienna.

produces that excitation in the absence of artificial stimulus. This popular theory finds expression in the phrase ' drunk with love '.

This same identification is remarkably widespread in its working. Tales of the drink of the gods and its nature run all through Indo-Germanic mythology. This drink, which is conceived of as a source of life and inspiration, is identified with the intoxicating drinks of mankind. But the identification goes still further. In the paper to which I referred above I show that the drink of the gods is equated with human semen, an idea which arises from the life-giving property of semen. It is noteworthy that the legends of the generation (creation) of the first man (e.g. the story of Prometheus) are related in the closest manner conceivable with the legends of the drink of the gods. It is not possible here to enter in greater detail upon an analysis of the myths I have named. I would only mention that the Greek legends of the birth of the wine-god, Dionysus, reveal the same identification.

In the whole world of legend love-potions play a great part. The idea of their erotic effect is doubtless borrowed from that of alcoholic drinks. Here again intoxication is identified with sexual excitation. We come upon the same train of thought in countless customs. Festivals of the god of wine are invariably at the same time erotic festivals. In many rites wine is the symbol of procreation or impregnation. In one custom, which Riklin [9] mentions, the symbolic substitution of wine for semen is perfectly transparent : in a certain neighbourhood it is usual to pour wine into the laps of maidens at the festival of spring. A universal custom is that of drinking a man's health. Here the alcoholic drink, on account of its exciting effect, stands for vital energy. When we drink a person's health the idea is that the vivifying property of the wine is to benefit him.

The identification which we are considering must be extremely firmly founded. Respect for prowess in drinking is closely bound up with respect for sexual prowess. A man who does not drink is accounted a weakling. Men begin to take alcohol at puberty, that is to say when they wish to be regarded as men, and any young man who does not drink is looked upon as ' green ' by those of his own age. Bragging of drinking exploits is at no time so marked as in early manhood. When in later years potency passes away, men eagerly grasp at alcohol, the pleasure-bringer, which now becomes the surrogate for the vanishing procreative power.

[9] Riklin, *Wunscherfüllung und Symbolik im Märchen.* Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde, Heft 2, Vienna, 1908.

Men rely on alcohol because it increases their sense of manhood and flatters their masculinity-complex. The psychosexual constitution of women incites them far less to take alcohol. The activity in the female sexual instinct is less and the resistances to excitation of it are greater. We traced this difference in behaviour to the impetus given to repression at puberty. The woman stimulates the man's desire by her psychic resistances, whereas in men a man admires energetic initiative. Girls have no occasion to turn to alcohol at puberty, for alcohol does away with the effects of repression, the resistances, and if a woman sacrifices these she loses in charm for men. Women who display a strong inclination towards alcohol would probably, on closer observation, always reveal a strong homosexual tendency.

The effects of alcohol—i.e. the facilitation of sexual transference and the undoing of the results of repression—are not merely transitory but, as is well known, may be lasting. Chronic drinkers display a characteristic tendency to excessive emotion ; they adopt an intimate tone without any reserve, they look on everyone they meet as an old friend and exhibit an unmanly emotionalism. They sacrifice their sense of modesty : it is not necessary to describe here in detail the kind of scenes which the children of a drunkard are forced to witness. In short, all the finer feelings which owe their existence to sublimation are destroyed.

It is not only the sublimations of the sexual instinct which perish in the drunkard. Alcoholic intoxication at its height does actually diminish sexual potency, and we know also the poisonous effect which alcohol has on the germ-cells (blastophthoria).[10] We know, too, that many drunkards become impotent. Alcohol has betrayed them. They trusted that it would increase their manliness, for it gave them a feeling of sexual power. Instead of this, it robs them of their power, but now they themselves do not notice the betrayal. They do not give up alcohol but go on identifying it with their sexuality and use it as a surrogate for this. I detect here an analogy to certain sexual perversions in which a sexual stimulus, which normally might serve as an introduction to the sexual act, is substituted for it. Freud calls this a ' fixation at a preliminary sexual goal '. For example, in normal circumstances looking at the sexual object is only a source of fore-pleasure, whilst the sexual act alone carries with it gratification. But a certain kind of pervert contents himself with looking alone.

[10] Cf. Forel and Juliusburger, ' Über Blastophthorie ', *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, No. 6.

The behaviour of the alcoholic is completely analogous. Alcohol has a sexually exciting effect; the drunkard pursues this excitation and, in so doing, forfeits the capacity for normal sexual activity.

We can discover yet other analogies between alcoholism and sexual perversion. Freud's researches have taught us how intimate are the relations existing between perversion and neurosis. Freud[11] has demonstrated that many neurotic symptoms are the expression of repressed sexual phantasies and constitute a kind of sexual activity on the part of the patient. The attempt to make a psychological analysis of his symptoms is always countered by the patient with an extraordinary resistance, the explanation of which is to be found in the repression of his sexual complexes. If the physician suggests a psychoanalytical solution of the morbid symptoms the patient invariably replies in the negative, however well founded the question may be. He brings forward 'screen'-motives instead of the real causes. Just so the alcoholic persists to the death in denying facts which cannot possibly be disputed. He has any number of plausible motives for his alcoholism and he wards off every attempt at serious investigation. The neurotic wards off any attack on his symptoms, because they are his form of sexual activity. For the same reason (or at least I think this is the conclusion to which we must come) the drunkard repulses any attack upon his alcoholism.

There is one other point of view which I think deserves mention. Amongst the morbid changes which take place in the ideational life of alcoholics those having an indubitably sexual content play a striking part. I refer to the well-known jealousy of drunkards, which reaches the point of delusion. Much experience, which I cannot now quote in detail, has convinced me that the cause of the alcoholic's jealousy is his sense of diminishing potency. The drunkard uses alcohol as a source of effortless gratification; he turns from women to alcohol. This fact is in the highest degree painful to his self-respect; he represses it, just as the neurotic does, and at the same time attempts a displacement of the sort familiar to us in the mechanism of the neuroses and psychoses. He displaces his sense of guilt on to the woman concerned in the form of a reproach, declaring that she is unfaithful to him.

Thus there are manifold relations between alcoholism, sexuality and neurosis. It seems to me necessary to apply to alcoholism as well as to the neuroses the psycho-analytical method elaborated by Freud

[11] Freud, 'Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

which makes it possible for us to penetrate into the structure of the latter. From verbal communications made by colleagues I know that in cases of morphinism psycho-analysis has revealed surprising connections between sexuality and the misuse of the drug. I would mention in this connection the mysterious behaviour of many nervous persons in regard to narcotics. Hysterics often beg the physician, whatever happens, not to prescribe morphia or opium for them, for, they say, they cannot tolerate it, and they tell him of former unpleasant experiences. According to all appearances these drugs produce in certain hysterics a sexual excitation, which, owing to the peculiar psychosexual constitution of hysterics, is converted into physical symptoms and anxiety. It is possible that the intolerance of alcohol, so frequently met with in nervous persons, has a similar root. In conclusion I would recall a remarkable discovery which I have repeatedly made in psychotic patients. If the patients were given a narcotic by hypodermic injection, they construed this as a sexual assault. They interpreted the syringe and the fluid in a symbolic manner.

As we see, there are plenty of unsolved problems in alcoholism for psychological research. Outer influences, such as social environment, faults in training, hereditary taint and so forth are not *in themselves* a sufficient explanation of dipsomania. There must be in addition an individual factor, and our first task should be to find out what this is. I think this can only be accomplished if we constantly keep before us the connections between alcoholism and sexuality.

THE NEUROTIC CHARACTER

BY

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From time to time the psycho-analyst is called upon to treat certain individuals of both sexes whose illness cannot be classified under the usual categories. Indeed it may be difficult at first to understand exactly what urge has carried them to the point of undergoing a prolonged course of treatment. In some instances it is ostensibly a matter of matrimonial difficulties, in others an incapacity for social adaptation bringing with it a crop of emotionally tinged situations, in others again a tendency to ' breakdown ' in phases of life requiring decisive action. Preliminary investigation does not bring much positive information : neurotic symptoms of a dramatic sort may be quite conspicuously absent, although leading questions in many cases uncover an obsessional disposition. Whatever symptomatic constructions are present have rather a larval character, for example a tendency to hypochondriacal preoccupation, mild forms of compulsive doubt, slight phobia constructions, lesser conversion or pathoneurotic symptoms or in some instances abnormal jealousy reactions together with indications that the patient's projective systems are being overworked, attitudes of exaggerated suspicion, a tendency to regard himself as the victim of conspiring circumstances. Some form or other of psycho-sexual inhibition is usually present, although it may not have been regarded as such by the patient. Two facts, however, can usually be elicited without much difficulty : first that the individual is faced with a series of crises which recur constantly and seem to have a stereotyped form even although the environmental setting may vary ; secondly, that the most acute of these crises are associated with changes in the libidinal milieu, separations from or losses amongst the family circle, problems of marriage or of marital life, changes in occupation or decisions regarding a fixed career, sudden variations in social conditions or sudden assumptions of responsibility.

Should the case proceed to analysis it is not long before some of the preliminary surmises are easily confirmed. The analytic situation with its potentialities for libidinal satisfaction is accepted with suspicious alacrity and analysis often proceeds with that smoothness and intellectualistic avidity which indicates unconscious libido gratification and portends the most stubborn of affective resistances. Nevertheless

from the mass of preconscious material which is produced, it becomes more and more certain that the situations of difficulty, doubt or emotional conflict have some patent resemblance. They may indeed be so identical as to merit the description ' repetitive ', but even where both stage setting and actors are widely different the theme is worked out along identical lines, indicating an underlying mechanism common to all of the situations. Moreover it can be seen that the situations themselves, although seemingly arising by chance, are in fact unconsciously engineered to meet periodic stresses of instinctual tension.

The next point to be noted is the frequency with which everyday social contingencies are woven into an emotional climax and how the consequences also involve persons other than the patient. In short, the latter stages two stock situations: in one of these, owing to a seemingly perverse and malignant environment he is injured in some way or other; in the other, seemingly from no fault of his own and with the best of conscious intentions, he brings unhappiness to certain significant persons in his environment. In many respects the situation is similar to that existing when within the family circle the neurotic is the victim of misunderstanding and at the same time inflicts considerable damage on his own capacities and on those of his family. In the latter instance, however, the area affected is a comparatively circumscribed one, whereas with the type we have mentioned the family circle has been widened to include the whole range of his acquaintance, indeed society as a whole represented through laws, customs, business conventions and so forth. The mechanism may be so obvious that the individual comes to be regarded by candid friends as a ' poor devil dogged by ill luck ', or as ' his own worst enemy ', or as a ' pest ', which latter category is quick to merge with that of the ' ne'er-do-well '.

By way of illustration, let us consider the following typical case. A male patient, whose reasons for coming to treatment were ostensibly concerned with some hypochondriacal symptoms and some obsessive thoughts, soon indicated that what aroused most of his concern was a feeling of ineffectiveness in life and a considerable preoccupation with money affairs. In addition it was clear that, although married, his psycho-sexual life was very much inhibited. It gradually transpired that, as well as occupying his attention, financial affairs constituted almost his sole activity. They seemed to be of several sorts, one being a concern with speculations which were intended to fulfil dreams of quickly amassed wealth, but which in practice either failed in their

purpose or ended sometimes in substantial loss. In these matters he acted alone, although the consequences sometimes involved others. But there was another group in which he acted as a kind of fairy godmother to other people, mostly men, and embarked on a series of ventures which again resulted most often in loss to himself although not to his *protégé*. A third situation was that of rescuing certain types in financial distress. The striking feature of the case was the persistent way in which, ignoring all previous experience, he would bring about precisely similar situations, entering anew on speculations, being drawn into new ventures and successfully sponged on by an always needy *entourage*. Even when his operations were successful he usually made it the occasion to transfer substantial sums to other members of the family, i.e. he was no longer in pocket. It was as if the amassing tendency was inevitably opposed by a tendency to rid himself of masses, which ultimately gained the upper hand and resulted in quite appreciable losses. With almost uncanny precision he would dally with speculative dreams until the moment for effective action was past and would then fling himself into the market to be left with a 'parcel' of stock, which he could realize only at a loss.

Another case showed a somewhat similar reaction, with this difference, that he could allow himself to be effective to an appreciable extent, but after these periods of success would bring himself to the verge of actual ruin. Again and again he would exhibit great skill in building up a business; this would be followed by periods of foreboding and ultimately by disaster which in the retrospect was seen to have been avoidable. He would then start all over again with a fresh venture. In both cases described the actual steps taken were, however, at the time based on seemingly unassailable rationalizations. This repetitive play with means of subsistence can be enacted with every possible variation. It is seen too, although in less dramatic form, with persons who turn from one occupation to another, always abandoning one activity when a certain degree of efficiency or futility has been demonstrated. An artist becomes an actor, takes up singing, dabbles in lecturing, turns to teaching and ends in so-called nervous breakdown. We might include here, too, persons such as those described by Stekel[1] and Abraham,[2] who spend their lives in dramatic repre-

[1] Stekel: 'Die Verpflichtung des Namens', *Zeitschrift für Psychotherapie und medizinische Psychologie*, Bd. III, Ht. 2, 1911.

[2] Abraham: 'Über die determinierende Kraft des Namens', *Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse*, 1921.

sentation of some quality or other which is suggested by their own surname, or who unconsciously model their behaviour on the pattern of some famous personage whose name or surname they happen to share.

Other common types are those who, although not necessarily unsuccessful in business affairs, expend much energy and ingenuity in getting into stereotyped emotional situations. Their lives seem to be a running series of clashes with authority, successfully engineered rebellions and superfluous martyrdoms. Others again involve themselves in a series of social situations where they deem themselves to be slighted, passed over or wronged ; they bring themselves periodically to states of emotional misery and inflict not a little suffering on the involuntary actors in their dramas. Their reactions resemble very closely the reactions of a large group of seemingly normal persons whose love-life is made up of a series of repetitive affairs with different love-objects, the ultimate end of which is disappointment on one or both sides and a compulsive drive towards the next entanglement. In this connection Freud has shrewdly remarked how unhappy marriages, loss of money or bodily infirmity may resolve an otherwise refractory neurosis.[3] Postponing for the moment analytic consideration of the mechanisms operative in the above types, we may say that they have a sufficiently pathological stamp to distinguish them from ordinary character reactions. On the other hand, although usually associated with some mild form of typical neurotic symptom, their general reactions do not conform to the accustomed modes of neurotic symptom formation. In fact, from both descriptive and psycho-genetic points of view, it has been found convenient to distinguish the conditions with the special designation of ' neurotic character '. Needless to say, it does not follow that the cases described are the only ones which justify this diagnosis ; as we shall see, there are other character abnormalities of a more glaring and compulsive nature which would seem to indicate the necessity for subdivision of the neurotic character or for a separate category, or again for inclusion in a possible psychotic character grouping. The types illustrated have three features in common : first that the character reaction is pathological, secondly that it is diffused throughout everyday life, and thirdly that it is supported by a framework of cast-iron rationalizations which on many occasions satisfy the onlooker as well as the patient.

Now it might well be argued by those familiar with the handling

[3] Freud : ' The Economic Problem of Masochism ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1924.

of neurotic patients that this so-called neurotic character is a matter of everyday clinical experience, hence that there is no need to isolate it as a distinct pathological state or to consider it as more than a sort of neurotic ' aura '. This would seem to be borne out by the frequency with which repetitive situations occur in the love-life of the neurotic and by the fact that in particular neuroses there is a notable accentuation of certain character traits, e.g. in obsessional neurosis an accentuation of anal character traits which are repetitive in type and exploited under varying conditions. Against this we have to put the facts that many pathological character changes do exist without symptom formation and particularly that treatment of character changes can give rise to a temporary exacerbation of larval neurotic symptoms. Perhaps the most satisfactory method of approaching the matter, however, is to consider briefly the historical stages leading to the isolation of the neurotic character.

It is scarcely necessary to recall here the pioneer work in psycho-analytic characterology carried out by Freud,[4] Jones [5] and Abraham.[6] Freud's original classification of orderliness, obstinacy and avarice as anal character traits was abundantly confirmed and amplified in numerous respects by all three writers. Almost simultaneously urethral character changes, ambition, envy and impatience, were described, some of which were later traced back to a primary character-stamp affixed during the oral stage of libido development.[7] During the same period much individual work had been done on more general character peculiarities, and psycho-analytic literature is replete with descriptions and interpretations of such conditions. Unfortunately these are as a rule sandwiched between material dealing with pure symptom constructions, but in some instances we can find evidence of more elaborate study of general character changes. Freud,[8] for example, in his

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[4] Freud : ' Character and Anal Erotism ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1924.

[5] Jones : ' Anal-erotic Character Traits ', *Papers on Psycho-Analysis* 1923.

[6] Abraham : ' Contributions to the Theory of Anal Character ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. IV, 4, 1923.

[7] Abraham : ' The Influence of Oral Erotism on Character Formation ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. VI, 3, 1925. Edward Glover : ' Notes on Oral Character Formation ', ibid., Vol. VI, 3, 1925.

[8] Freud : ' The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1924.

description of the obsessive disposition calls attention to the remarkable character changes occurring at the climacteric : how the sweet maiden, loving woman and tender mother may deteriorate into the ' old termagant ', becoming quarrelsome, peevish, argumentative, petty and miserly. The observation was not in itself original. But Freud's explanation was both original and illuminating, namely, that it represented a postgenital regression to the former pregenital anal-sadistic phase, and that what distinguished the character change from an obsessional change was the absence of conflict, or of any struggle against the regression by means of reaction formations or compromise symptom constructions. At a somewhat later date Freud [9] published a study indicating that he had come to grips with abnormal character formations, most of which had proved to be sources of powerful resistance during analysis. One need only mention his description of types claiming to be exceptions, exempt from all restrictions on the pleasure principle. These were shown to be persons who had suffered libidinal thwarting during the infantile period. Women of this group who felt that they had been unfairly injured in childhood had moreover an unabsorbed castration complex. Still more striking was his analysis of patients who appear to wreck themselves on attaining success in life. It seems that in such cases unconscious wishes are tolerated so long as there is no appearance of fulfilment in reality. When, however, reality seems likely to gratify the forbidden phantasy, conflict breaks out and the consequent inner deprivation becomes pathogenic. Another important character study is that on ' The God-Complex ' by Ernest Jones,[10] which in effect deals with certain transition types between normal and neurotic characteristics.

The next development in psycho-analytic characterology is illustrated by Abraham's [11] work on the female castration complex. It belongs to the same group as descriptions of anal, urethral and oral characteristics, but dealing as it does with problems centering round the Œdipus phase, we are shown more complicated specific reactions to external situations and objects. Finally we must refer to the classic

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[9] Freud : ' Some Character Types met with in Psycho-analytic work ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1925.

[10] Jones : ' The God-Complex ', *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, 1923.

[11] Abraham : ' Manifestations of the Female Castration Complex ', International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, Vol. III, 1, 1922.

study of Alexander [12] on ' Castration complex and character '. Here he describes the part played by the castration complex in moulding a patient's love, business and general social attitudes and discusses, in the light of the ego-psychology available at the time, the relation of character formation to symptom formation. This comprised Freud's studies on narcissism, ideal formation, the repetition compulsion, and group psychology, but at that time his latest formulations had not been published. These were contained in *Das Ich und das Es*, published in 1923.[13] This latter is essentially a study which cannot be condensed, but it is no exaggeration to say that it provided a stable framework in which earlier fragments of characterology could be pieced together. To give but the barest outline of essentials, we may say that Freud distinguishes three systems in the psyche. The first is the ' Es ' or *Id* (literally the It), a great reservoir system or hinterland of instinct tendencies. A part of this *Id*-system is highly modified, is ranged round perceptual consciousness as round a nucleus, and is essentially corporeal. This highly modified part constitutes the Ego, includes the preconscious system and guards the approaches to motility. The Ego, however, comes to be sharply separated from the repressed, which therefore is included within the *Id*. Now here we have a fact of fundamental importance for character study. On the one hand the Ego is separated from the repressed ; on the other the Ego, being a modified part of the *Id*, is not sharply separated from it and is in fact infiltrated by the *Id*, especially in its more primitive forms. So that there is a possible roundabout way of communication between the repressed and the Ego, namely, at the region where the *Id* infiltrates the Ego. There is, however, a third system to be reckoned with, the Ego-ideal or Super-ego, which is set up as the result of individual struggle with the Œdipus situation. Its exact structure and tendency depends on the nature of primary identifications with the parents and the fate of erotic strivings towards the parents, but it illustrates the special mechanism whereby abandoned *Id* strivings towards an object are dealt with by introjection and identification. It is known,

[12] Alexander : ' The Castration Complex in the Formation of Character ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. IV, 1 and 2, 1923.

[13] Freud : ' On Narcissism, an Introduction ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1925 : ' Beyond the Pleasure Principle ', ' Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego ', International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1922 ; *' Das Ich und das Es '*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1923.

of course, that all object relations leave some imprint on the Ego either through identification or introjection, but this particular series is unique in that it so to speak incorporates the parents in the individual and continues to function as an instigator of repression.

For example, when the Œdipus phase in a boy or girl is overcome it is sometimes possible to observe an accentuation of masculine characteristics on the part of the girl and of feminine in the boy. This not only illustrates one of the ways of dealing with the Œdipus complex, but represents the typical mechanism of character formation by introjection after an erotic striving has been abandoned. Coming back to the formation of the Super-ego, we have to note that its activities are of a twofold nature, represented in the imperatives ' Thou shalt ' and ' Thou shalt not '. The latter imperative gives us a hint of what is happening when an individual is shattered by success. Now, whilst the formation of the Super-ego represents a climax in character processes, the ground has been by no means unprepared previously. Throughout each of the phases of infantile libido development, similar imperatives have been urged from without and have been accepted from within, although on a strictly economic footing, the terms being so to speak the hard cash of libidinal gratification. In this way manifestations of component sexual impulses have been partly controlled, so that when the final stage is reached there is already in existence a loosely organized system of primitive morality which in normal individuals is then welded together. Ferenczi [14] has in fact described the development of various sphincter controls as a kind of sphincter morality, a physiological forerunner of the Super-ego. It is easy to see, however, that in the early stages of scattered Ego-formation, direct *Id* components must be more strongly represented, Ego control must be less exacting, reaction formations more crude and real sublimation rudimentary.

A bird's-eye view of character formations at the end of the infantile period might well be compared with a geological formation, each stratification bearing a typical imprint, increasing in complexity from the most primitive post-natal impressions, through the auto-erotic narcissistic stages, to the point at which the struggle over love and hate of the first complete external objects, the parents, is reached and passed. Each imprint will have positive and negative features, repre-

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[14] Ferenczi: ' On the Psycho-Analysis of Sexual Habits ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. VI, 4, 1925.

senting the ' Thou shalt ' and the ' Thou shalt not ' of each period, and will reflect moreover the prevailing modes of gratification and of reaction formation forced upon the individual.

The nature and outline of surface formations will depend partly on the underlying order and partly on the age and vicissitudes of the individual. We know that from childhood onwards the Ego is less pliable to character alteration or is somewhat selective. It is common experience that the process of introjection and Ego alteration still holds to some extent for emotionally significant persons in later life ; we can see this in the gradual character absorptions which take place between married couples, though, of course, unconscious selective processes have already been at work here. Again, we are familiar with the regressive character changes already mentioned when libido involution lights up pregenital character traits.

In the case of neurotic character we would expect to find either exaggeration or distortion of the imprint at one or all of the primitive levels, having in either case the same ultimate result, a warping of characteristics acquired during the Œdipus phase. To return to the case first described, we have seen that this patient showed exaggerated reactions to money affairs, and brought about states of financial self-punishment. His methods of getting rid of money were particularly reminiscent of the neurotic reaction described by Abraham,[15] where states of anxiety are met with by disbursing sums of money. The opposing tendencies to acquire and to get rid of accumulations seemed to dominate his activities, and it was not surprising to find that these tendencies were illustrated by reactions dating from different pregenital stages of development. As might have been surmised from his interest in speculation, there was a definite accentuation of oral reactions. These were always of an exaggerated type. On the one hand he would show signs of anxiety when eating or drinking with strangers or in a crowd, and on the other would so order his social life that he gave hospitality to people who either had no means or no inclination to return it. At the same time his speculative interests were always attracted by concerns dealing with natural products and foodstuffs, whilst his phantasy life was busy with luxuriant tropical pictures of lands where food exists in abundance and is obtained without effort. The usual character traits of the anal stage were quite patent in his case, but there was in addition an elaborate series of anal reactions

[15] Abraham : ' Das Geldausgeben im Angstzustand ', *Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse*, 1921.

which penetrated into every detail of his daily life. His excretory *tempo* varied from constipation to diarrhœa, and he observed a mild series of excretory rituals of a contamination sort, which were definitely exaggerated but not sufficiently pathological to be called obsessional ceremonials. He had innumerable peculiarities in regard to money, apart from the major reactions described. They seemed invariably to centre round ideas of affluence and philanthropy or of poverty and rescue. He would typically go about with no change in his pocket and would depend on some female member of the household to rescue him from numerous minor financial embarrassments. At the same time accumulations of money disturbed him. This was paralleled in other activities by apprehensions about every conceivable variety of stoppage. Traffic blocks excited him strangely, and he had constant intestinal preoccupations of a like sort. Obviously this was associated with pregnancy phantasies, but here again he could find vent for his ideas in financial activities, dwelling particularly on anticipations of luxuriant growth of speculations. On the other hand, loss of money would immediately stimulate phantasies of falling into consumption. His incapacity feelings were clearly associated with castration anxiety and unconscious passive homosexuality, and again his reactions were exhibited in everyday life, his ethical and political views and prejudices, his relations to family, friends and acquaintances, his games and hobbies. Finally his love-life had been determined on the same basis, and his marriage represented a climax in his attempts to reproduce and yet avoid the Œdipus situation. In short, the whole of his life was honeycombed with character peculiarities representative of a thwarted pregenital and genital development.

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So far we have described the clinical appearances of one type of neurotic character, and have given a somewhat vague outline of character structure, but have as yet produced no working definitions of either normal or neurotic character. To understand the function of normal character and the pathological nature of neurotic character we must turn our attention to the position of the neurotic and psychotic symptom. Perhaps the simplest approach to this subject is to consider what happens when a situation of instinct tension arises in any individual. This tension necessitates some modification calculated to bring about relief. Instinct tension being a tension from within, modification can conceivably take place within the individual (e.g. in meeting sexual need by auto-erotic discharge). This is the auto-

plastic method, to use the phrase coined and adopted by Ferenczi and Freud.[16] But as the Ego develops, instinct tension has come to be bound up with outer objects. Hence effective discharge involves modification of environment. This is the alloplastic as opposed to the autoplastic method. Now modification of external environment implies a sound reality sense and effective displacement, but even if these are not sound or effective it is still possible to deal with tension through environment by giving up reality and projecting an emergency reality on to environment. This is the psychotic method. The neurotic has, however, in effect an unimpaired ' sense of reality testing ', as can be seen by contrasting the subjective attitudes of patients to a phobia and to a delusion respectively. If one attempted to reason with a patient about a phobia and pointed out that it was nonsensical, the answer would be ' I know it ', but if one told a psychotic that his delusion was nonsense, he would reply ' By no means, I'll prove it to you '. The neurotic knows that he cannot justify the situation, the delusional patient gives the full force of reality conviction to his modification of environment. What then has the neurotic done ? He has abandoned the normal alloplastic modification of instinctual tension in favour of an autoplastic modification. He has regressed to older methods of gratification, but as these are of a forbidden nature and contravene the imperative injunctions of the Super-ego he has to produce them in a disguised symptom form, that is to say at the cost of illness. He gives up real gratification but retains a practically unimpaired sense of reality testing. The result is that his symptom solution is completely out of touch with the Ego ; it is irrational and dissociated. The psychotic on the other hand has ignored reality and at considerable cost substituted a reality of his own. Again, the neurotic by adopting the autoplastic method has obviously localized his solution to his own personality, and in the actual mode of symptom formation may localize it still further to a particular part or activity of his body. The psychotic may succeed in some degree of localization, as in paranoia, but it invariably involves the environment in some projective respect.

These two considerations, viz. (1) individual *versus* environmental modification, and (2) the degree of localization, enable us to take some measure of the neurotic character. It will be seen that, whereas

[16] Freud : ' Neurosis and Psychosis ' and ' The Loss of Reality in Neurosis and Psychosis ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, International Psycho-Analytical Library, 1924.

the neurotic can only tolerate an autoplastic solution of instinct tension and the psychotic solution involves giving up reality, the subject of a neurotic character takes advantage of the social situation, disguising his solution under accepted social conventions. In so doing he is aided and abetted by the environment in that the social situation up to a point gives general toleration to character abnormalities, and the patient's rationalizations tend to be accepted at face value by a society which itself exploits rationalization to the full during waking hours. In other words, the subject of a neurotic character justifies himself as the delusional patient does, but his justifications, unlike those of the psychotic, are to some extent accepted by society. Clearly there is an absence of any localization in the neurotic character and there is a deficient sense of reality testing. Hence there have arisen two views as to its gravity, the first put forward by Alexander,[17] who says that the subject of a neurotic character makes life his neurosis, that his life is interwoven with neurosis, and the second by Ferenczi, who regards character abnormalities as private psychoses tolerated by the ego.[18]

Without taking sides in this discussion, we may go on to consider other aspects of the neurotic character. As we have seen, the subject of a neurotic character not only makes positive demands on environment but sees to it that the demands are periodically refused, or still further, that environment should inflict injuries upon him. This is reminiscent of neurotic self-punishment, the difference being that in the symptom we can trace a symbolic punishment, whereas with the neurotic character, although the injury has also a symbolic significance, it is a real injury which seems to be almost deliberately inflicted by circumstances or other objects, persons, parents, gods, fates, etc. This implies either that the Super-ego in neurotic character has never been firmly established (in contrast to the neurotic's Super-ego, which has been established in too rigorous a form), or that the neurotic character represents a regression to a more archaic level of Super-ego formation and is dependent on environment for the drive which in other cases comes from within. Here we have an obvious link with perversion. The pervert carries out *Id* tendencies quite directly, not through disguised symptom formations, yet, as Sachs[19] has

[17] Alexander, loc. cit.

[18] Ferenczi, loc. cit.

[19] Sachs : ' Zur Genese der Perversionen ', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, IX, 2, 1923.

reminded us, he invokes a punishment situation which is real and is carried out definitely by the environment. In fact the pervert's solution is emphatically rejected by society. Another resemblance between the perversion and neurotic character has been pointed out by Freud when considering by what means the ego can reconcile the claims of the *Id* and of the Super-ego respectively. He remarks that the ego can avoid a rupture of its relations by deforming itself, and goes on to say, ' Thus the illogicalities, eccentricities and follies of mankind would fall into a category similar to their sexual perversions, for by accepting them they spare themselves repressions '.[20]

Having thus correlated neurotic character with and at the same time distinguished it from neurosis and perversion through the relation to guilt, to social acceptance or rejection of demands and to the nature of punishment, we are immediately reminded of another link between neurotic character and the psychoses. We have said that the delusional idea is rejected more in sorrow than in anger by society, but there are cases where wide tolerance of psychotic characteristics is displayed. Freud [21] has pointed out concerning jealousy that, although strictly speaking this is not a normal reaction from the point of view of reality adaptation, nevertheless the condition can be regarded as a normal competitive reaction to the loss of an object. His next grouping is a projective one, when the individual's own faithlessness is obscured by an exaggeration of the unconscious signs of infidelity on the part of the object, e.g. where the unconsciously faithless husband interprets his wife's social relations in terms of infidelity. The third grouping is that of delusional jealousy where, to conceal an unconscious love for objects of the same sex, the man is convinced of his wife's love for other men. This last represents a paranoic state. Now, to take an extreme instance, whilst expressions of ordinary suspicion may be based on good rationalizations, many paranoiacs regard themselves as supremely normal, and what is more are regarded by others as supremely normal. Many people, however, although not paranoic are paranoidal in type, and we find that in the neurotic character exaggerated forms of suspicion exist, which although essentially psychotic in type are often accepted at their face value by others.

Apparently then it is going to be a difficult matter to define the neurotic character without formulating at the same time an additional

[20] Freud : ' Neurosis and Psychosis ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, 1924.

[21] Freud : ' Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia and Homosexuality ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, 1924.

grouping of psychotic characters. This difficulty becomes more pressing when we meet with character types which have been studied and grouped together by Wilhelm Reich under the designation of ' triebhaft ' (governed by instinct) character.[22] Reich includes these definitely under the heading of neurotic characters, but distinguishes them from instinct-inhibited characters on several grounds. The most important of these are (1) that they have a closer relation to the *repetition compulsion*, (2) that they give more direct expression in *action* to *unmodified* instincts in contrast to distorted expression, and (3) that there is no single fixation point but on the other hand a specific developmental disturbance of the Ego. His cases exhibited manifest ambivalence without reaction formation, faulty repression, sadistic actions unaccompanied by guilt and were usually associated with manifest perversions. In addition, neurotic symptoms were quite a prominent feature, and although psychotic formations were not always present the patients frequently presented schizoid characteristics. Broadly speaking, we might distinguish Reich's instinctual character from his inhibited neurotic character and from the neurotic symptom respectively by comparing a person who physically injures himself or members of his family with, on the one hand, a person who shows an exaggerated characteristic of scrupulousness and, on the other, with a patient suffering from obsessive ceremonials calculated to neutralize unconscious ideas of aggression.

The question immediately arises whether the types he describes are pure enough to be included under the neurotic character, or whether they are not mixed types capable of further subdivision in accordance with their resemblance to severe neuroses, perversions, psychoses, etc. On the other hand, in Alexander's description of the neurotic character the irrational and apparently senseless behaviour of patients is emphasized, which would to some extent separate them from the types presented in this paper with whom a feature of the situation is the existence of almost cast-iron rationalizations. Difficulties of this sort may be met to some extent in one or all of three ways. They may be regarded as the result of variation in intensity of character discharges, lighting up so to speak increasingly archaic levels of adaptation. Or broad differences in types of neurotic character may be correlated with the nature of the Super-ego formation, e.g. the more positive and un-

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[22] Reich : *Der triebhafte Charakter*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925.

modified the instinct drive the more compulsive and less rationalized the character reaction, and *vice versâ*. Or, again, the difficulty might be lessened by isolation of a special group of ' psychotic characters '. One of my cases, for example, went through a constantly recurring series of situations which ended in the abandonment of one occupation or hobby in favour of a new but symbolically related activity. Analysis showed that underlying each situation there was a network of ideas which were not distinguishable from delusions of reference. The patient had in early life experienced much positive gratification of component impulses, especially of an exhibitionistic sort, and had evidently solved the problem of Œdipus deprivation and guilt by a concealed system of spying ideas. It seems probable that with a more adequate reality sense this case would have developed either a severe neurosis or a manifest perversion.

But whatever justification there may be for a psychotic character grouping, it is evident that we have not advanced far enough to deal effectively with the classification of types whose reactions border closely on psychotic mechanisms, to say nothing of the social groups vaguely called defective and criminal. Nevertheless we cannot escape from the necessities of a neurotic character grouping in which the whole personality is permeated with reactions which if localized and concentrated would irresistibly remind us of a neurotic symptom. The fact that these permeations can in some cases be distinguished only with great difficulty from normal character formations is far from being a drawback to the classification. It is only another illustration of the commonplace that we can learn much of normal function from a study of exaggerated or positively abnormal function.

It has already been noted regarding normal character traits that they represent the imprint of various stages in Ego and libido development, and that character reactions constitute an active exercise directly and indirectly of *Id* gratifications and Ego reaction formations. A typical example would be that of the reaction formations of social pity and humanitarianism, which express the barrier against cruelty and yet, by insisting on penalties for cruelty, give a certain scope for retention of the original impulse. We may recall here the fact that the Ego does not circumscribe the *Id;* it is rather a localized external construction which guards the approaches to motility, but is to some extent—a much greater extent than we like to imagine—infiltrated by the *Id*. From the point of view of rationalization we might say that it forms a kind of veneer which draws attention to the finished surface,

irrespective of the quality, grain or warp of the substructure. The simile is, however, too rigid to suggest the function of normal character. This might, very inadequately, be compared with a coarse surface filter made of some elastic sponge-like substance, which holds back the major incompatibilities of the *Id* reservoir, but retains in its own interstices varying amounts of the same material which can then evaporate imperceptibly into reality. With too large a mesh or too much pressure from below we are faced with the neurotic character. To pursue the comparison further; if we regard normal character processes as having a kind of respiratory function in the psyche, acting, so to speak, as a pulmonary system, neurotic character could be compared to the laboured respirations of active and passive hyperæmia.

At any rate we have here the idea of a protective system with sufficient elasticity and 'give' to meet stresses both from within and without, operating normally as a sort of capillary anastomosis between the *Id* and reality. When for any reason there is an obstruction to the libido stream of the individual, this system can function as a collateral circulation, but at the possible cost of hypertrophy, i.e. of neurotic character. Should this collateral circulation fail, the psyche gets into a state of libido congestion calling for further repression, and in the absence of effective repression the road to symptom formation is open. As Freud [23] has pointed out, what distinguishes character formations from neurosis is that in the former there is no miscarriage of repression. It is conceivable then that in normal character processes we have a boundary formation which prevents the establishment of a vicious circle in libido economy. This is in keeping with Freud's view that failure to sublimate is one of the contributing factors in falling ill.

At any rate, if we are not in a position to define neurotic character with precision, our knowledge of it is sufficient to permit of increasingly exact formulations concerning normal character processes. We might provisionally define these as a *set of organized behaviour reactions founded on and tending to preserve a stable equilibrium between Id tendencies and submission to Reality: they are characterized by more or less satisfactory adaptation along lines of displacement.* Having proceeded so far with caution, we may remind ourselves that at least one non-analytical formulation concerning character was not hampered by scientific timidity and yet foreshadowed a psycho-analytical discovery.

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[23] Freud: 'The Predisposition to Obsessional Neurosis', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, 1924.

What strikes every observer of character processes is not only their almost compulsive nature but the way in which they repeat over and over again the same situation. In extreme forms where external conditions are continually turned to disadvantage the impression is created that the individual has been pursued by some inexorable Fate. In the language of metapsychology we would say that his actions are governed to a large extent by the compulsion to repeat which is a characteristic of instinct and is seen in a milder form in habit. But this is only to give academic form and understanding to that more terse generalization—' Character is Destiny '.

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Consideration of the prognosis and treatment of neurotic character affords a welcome opportunity of insisting that neurotic character studies are essentially tentative and have no claims to finality. We are as yet unsure about mechanisms and classifications, and consequently must be even more guarded on matters of prognosis and treatment. Nevertheless, observations made by various psycho-analysts permit us to formulate certain points of agreement and to indicate sharp cleavages of opinion on these matters. For example, it is generally agreed that character-analyses are more difficult and prolonged than the analysis of the transference neuroses, and Ferenczi [24] has added the rider that analysis of so-called ' normal ' persons is for the same reason really much more difficult than has been imagined. There are many good reasons why this should be so. To take the last-mentioned factor, the influence of the repetition compulsion ; where this compulsion is very strong there is a greater tendency to repeat in action than to remember. Obviously then, the prognosis would depend on whether the repetition compulsion can be got into the transference. For example, a blind repetition in external situations provides an easy escape from recognition of repressed alloerotic tendencies in transference. We have the additional difficulty that this blindly repetitive solution can be ' camouflaged ' as a real and thoroughly rationalized actual problem, a process which is strongly reinforced by somewhat blind acceptance—an unconscious conspiracy of silence, so to speak, on the part of society in which normality of character sometimes hangs by a perilous thread of rationalization.

The modification asked for in analysis is not merely recognition and tolerance of libidinal trends but a complete reorganization of Ego

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[24] Ferenczi, loc. cit.

structure. The problem of neurotic character formation is essentially an Ego problem, and to be certain about the nature of prognosis or treatment we must have definite information concerning the strength of Super-ego formations and the efficiency of the ego in reality testing. In fact we have to reconsider the relation of neurotic character to normal character, to neurosis and to psychosis. Here we find a very definite cleavage in opinion. Whereas all observers seem to be agreed that there is no sharp distinction between an exaggerated character trait and neurotic character, Alexander [25] holds that the latter is midway between health and neurosis, and that each neurotic character contains the germ of a neurosis. As opposed to this, Reich [26] believes that the neurotic character is more serious than neurosis, and that neurosis represents a peak standing out from a mountain group of neurotic character formation. This prognosis is therefore more grave. Now, whilst Ferenczi,[27] as has been said, regards character abnormalities as private psychoses tolerated by the Ego, it is clear that he does so only for descriptive and not for prognostic purposes, because he advocates for character analysis a form of 'active' treatment which is contra-indicated in the psychoses.

This variance amongst authorities would seem to suggest that no definite prognosis can be given in any case until a preliminary investigation of an analytic nature has been carried out. This is to some extent true, and it is obviously good practice to delay opinion until one has taken measure of the patient's sense of reality testing and noted the exaggeration or otherwise of mechanisms of projection. But there is still a rough and ready method of arriving at prognosis. It is the relation of character peculiarities to symptoms and the nature of the symptoms if any. To take extreme cases, a severe neurotic character would appear to have a more serious prognosis where there was neither insight nor any subjective signs of illness. Where, however, signs of neurotic illness are present the prospects of influencing character peculiarities would appear more favourable. Again, the presence of neurotic symptoms associated with libido defect of late origin, e.g. phobias, anxieties, conversions, etc., would in many instances be regarded as a favourable factor.

It was indeed this relation between symptom formation and

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[25] Alexander, loc. cit.

[26] Reich, loc. cit.

[27] Ferenczi, loc. cit.

character alterations which drew increasing attention to the possibility of treating character peculiarities by psycho-analysis. Four definite observations have been made in this direction: first, that deliberate analysis of character peculiarities arouses not only vigorous transference resistances, but is associated with transitory symptom formation; secondly, that the analysis of neuroses is sometimes accompanied by temporary regressions of character to more primitive levels; thirdly, that reduction of neurotic symptoms is frequently associated with improvement in character abnormalities; and fourthly, that improvement in cases of manic-depressive insanity has been observed by Abraham [28] to coincide with the appearance of obsessional characteristics, implying advance from a primitive oral fixation to the anal-sadistic level. This would seem to suggest that as in the milder psychoses (Abraham) and in the curable perversions (Sachs) a middle stage may be necessary for the alteration of neurotic character, viz. the transformation of allo-erotic impulses into neurotic symptoms and the uncovering of primitive forms of guilt and anxiety.

It is a commonplace of analytic practice to say that character analysis is often refractory and always difficult, and it is not surprising that various suggestions have been made concerning the employment of auxiliary devices. Two of these seem to be in direct opposition to one another, yet have this in common that they represent purposive attempts to modify the structure of the Ego-ideal or Super-ego. The first is the so-called 'active' method of Ferenczi, which is intended to produce increased libido tension by the imposition of various libido frustrations. They are directed mainly against certain set habits and concealed gratifications and are imposed under transference authority in order to force repressed material to the surface. The second, suggested by Reich for his instinctive character cases, consists of a preliminary educational phase for the purpose of stabilizing the unbalanced Super-ego, to be followed by the usual analysis. A third method is suggested by the work of Wälder [29] on psychotics and of Aichhorn [30] on reformatory cases, the judicious encouragement of sublimatory

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[28] Abraham: *Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Libido*, Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1924.

[29] Wälder: 'The Psychoses: their Mechanisms and Accessibility to Influence', INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL JOURNAL, Vol. VI, 3, 1925.

[30] Aichhorn: 'Über die Erziehung in Besserungsanstalten', *Imago*, IX, 2, 1923.

activities during analysis. All of these methods are in the experimental stage and do not as yet justify definite conclusions. Nevertheless we can say definitely concerning the treatment of neurotic character that the ultimate success of any treatment depends on classical psycho-analytic methods which do not shrink from subjecting the seemingly banal routine of everyday life to detailed scrutiny.

INFANT ANALYSIS[1]

BY

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We constantly find in psycho-analysis that neurotic inhibitions of talents are determined by repression's having overtaken the libidinal ideas associated with these particular activities, and thus at the same time the activities themselves. In the course of infant-analyses and the analyses of children, I came upon material that led to the investigation of certain inhibitions which had only been recognized as such during the analysis. The following characteristics proved in a number of cases and in a typical way to be inhibitions: awkwardness in games and athletics and distaste for them, little or no pleasure in lessons, lack of interest in one particular subject, or, in general, varying degrees of what is called laziness; very often, too, capacities or interests which were feebler than the ordinary turned out to be 'inhibited'. In some instances it had not been recognized that these characteristics were real inhibitions and, since similar inhibitions make up part of the personality of every human being, they could not be termed neurotic. When they had been resolved by analysis we found—as Abraham has shown in the case of neurotics suffering from motor inhibitions[2]—that the basis of these inhibitions, too, was a strong primary pleasure which had been repressed on account of its sexual character. Playing at ball or with hoops, skating, tobogganing, dancing, gymnastics, swimming —in fact, athletic games of every sort—turned out to have a libidinal cathexis, the symbolism of which was always genital in nature. The same applied to the road to school, the relation with men and women teachers, and even to learning and teaching in themselves. Of course a large number of active and passive, heterosexual and homosexual determinants, varying with the individual and proceeding from the separate component instincts, were also found to be of importance.

In analogy to neurotic inhibitions, these which we may call 'normal' were evidently founded on a capacity for pleasure which was constitutionally great, and on their sexual-symbolic significance.

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[1] This paper was first published in 1923.

[2] Abraham, 'Über eine konstitutionelle Grundlage der lokomotorischen Angst', *Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse.*

The main accent, however, must be placed on the sexual-symbolic significance. It is this which, by effecting a libidinal cathexis, augments in a degree which we cannot as yet determine the original disposition and primary pleasure. At the same time it is this which draws repression upon itself, for repression is directed against the tone of sexual pleasure associated with the activity and leads to the inhibition of this activity or tendency.

I must now say that in far the greater number of these inhibitions, whether they were recognizable as such or not, the work of reversing the mechanism was accomplished by way of anxiety, and in particular by the 'dread of castration'; only when this anxiety was resolved was it possible to make any progress in removing the inhibition. This discovery gave me a certain insight into the relation between anxiety and inhibition, which I shall now discuss in more detail.

Light was thrown in a remarkable manner upon this inner connection between anxiety and inhibition by the analysis of little Fritz.[3] In this analysis, the second part of which went very deep, I was able to establish the fact that the anxiety (which at one time was very considerable but gradually subsided after it had reached a certain point) so followed the course of the analysis that it was always an indication that inhibitions were about to be removed. Every time that the anxiety was resolved the analysis made a big step forward, and comparison with other analyses confirms my impression that the completeness of our success in removing inhibitions is in direct proportion to the clearness with which the anxiety manifests itself as such and can be resolved.[4] By successful removal I do not simply mean

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[3] Cf. Melanie Klein, 'The Development of a Child', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, 1923. As I shall have to refer constantly to this work in the present paper, it would be advisable for my readers to peruse the former one first, so that the connection may be clear.

[4] In Fritz it appeared in a violent form, (and this seems to me very important) with the whole of the affect appropriate to it. In other analyses this was not always so. For instance, in Felix, a boy of thirteen, to whose analysis also I shall refer repeatedly in this paper, the anxiety was often recognized for what it was, but it was not lived through with so powerful an affect. In his paper, 'The Castration Complex in the Formation of Character' (INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, 1923), Dr. Alexander points out the great importance of this affective 'living-through'. This is what psycho-analysis aimed at in its infancy, terming it 'abreaction'.

that the inhibitions as such should be diminished or removed, but that the analysis should succeed in reinstating the primary pleasure of the activity. This is undoubtedly possible in the analysis of young children, and the younger the child the sooner it will happen, for the path which has to be traversed to reverse the mechanism of inhibition is less long and complicated in *young* children. In Fritz this process of removal by way of anxiety was sometimes preceded by the appearance of transitory symptoms.[5] These again were principally resolved by way of anxiety. The fact that the cancelling of these inhibitions and symptoms takes place by way of anxiety surely shows that anxiety is their source.

We know that it is one of the most primary affects. 'I said that conversion into anxiety, or better, discharge in the form of anxiety, was the immediate fate of libido which encounters repression.'[6] In thus reacting with anxiety the ego repeats that affect which at birth became the prototype of all anxiety and employs it as 'the general current coin for which all the affects are exchanged, or can be exchanged'.[7] The discovery of how the ego tries in the different neuroses to shield itself from the development of anxiety led Freud to conclude that: 'In an abstract sense, therefore, it seems correct to say that symptoms altogether are formed purely for the purpose of escaping the otherwise inevitable development of anxiety'. Accordingly, in children anxiety would invariably precede the formation of symptoms and would be the most primary neurotic manifestation, paving the way, so to speak, for the symptoms. At the same time it will not always be possible to indicate the reason why anxiety at an early stage often does not become manifest or is overlooked.[8]

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[5] Cf. S. Ferenczi, 'Transitory Symptom-formations during the Analysis', *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, 1916.

[6] Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 342.

[7] Idem, p. 337.

[8] In several analyses I have been able to establish the fact that children often conceal from those around them quite considerable quantities of anxiety, as though they were unconsciously aware of its meaning. With boys there is also the fact that they think their anxiety cowardice and are ashamed of it, and indeed this is a reproach which is generally made if they confess to it. These are probably the motives for forgetting, readily and completely, the anxiety of childhood, and we may be sure that some primary anxiety is always hidden behind the amnesia of childhood and can only be reconstructed by an analysis which penetrates really deep.

At all events there is probably not a single child who has not suffered from *pavor nocturnus*, and we are probably justified in saying that in all human beings at some time or other neurotic anxiety has been present in a greater or lesser degree.

' We recall the fact that the motive and purpose of repression were simply the avoidance of " pain ". It follows that the fate of the charge of affect belonging to the presentation is far more important than that of the ideational content of it and is decisive for the opinion we form of the process of repression. If a repression does not succeed in preventing feelings of " pain " or anxiety from arising, we may say that it has failed, even though it may have achieved its aim as far as the ideational element is concerned '.[9] If the repression is unsuccessful the result is the formation of symptoms. ' In the neuroses, processes take place which are intended to prevent the development of anxiety, and succeed in so doing by various means.' [10]

Now what happens to a quantity of affect which is made to vanish without leading to the formation of symptoms—I mean in cases of successful repression ? With regard to the fate of this sum of affect, which is destined to be repressed, Freud says : ' The fate of the quantitative factor in the instinct-presentation may be one of three, as we see by a cursory survey of the observations made in psycho-analysis : either the instinct is altogether suppressed, so that no trace of it is found, or it appears in the guise of an affect of a particular qualitative tone, or it is transformed into anxiety.' [11]

But how is it possible for the charge of affect to be suppressed in *successful* repression ? It seems justifiable to assume that whenever repression takes place (not excepting cases in which it is successful) the affect is discharged in the form of anxiety, the first phase of which is sometimes not manifest and is overlooked. This process is frequent in anxiety-hysteria, and we also assume its existence where such hysteria is not actually developed. In such a case anxiety would really be present unconsciously for a time . . . . ' we find it impossible to avoid even the strange conjunction, " unconscious consciousness of guilt ", or a paradoxical " unconscious anxiety " '.[12] It is true that in discussing the use of the term ' unconscious affects ' Freud goes on

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[9] ' Repression ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 92.

[10] *Introductory Lectures*, p. 342.

[11] ' Repression ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 91–92.

[12] ' The Unconscious ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

to say : ' So it cannot be denied that the use of the terms in question is logical ; but a comparison of the unconscious affect with the unconscious idea reveals the significant difference that the unconscious idea continues, after repression, as an actual formation in the system Ucs, whilst to the unconscious affect there corresponds in the same system only a potential disposition which is prevented from developing further.[13] We see then that the charge of affect which has vanished through successful repression has surely also undergone the transformation into anxiety, but that when the repression is completely successful the anxiety sometimes does not manifest itself at all, or only comparatively feebly, and remains as a potential disposition in the Ucs. The mechanism by which the ' binding ' and discharge of this anxiety, or disposition to anxiety, is rendered possible would be the same as that which we have seen to result in inhibition ; and the discoveries of psycho-analysis have taught us that inhibition enters in a greater or lesser degree into the development of every normal individual, while here again it is only the quantitative factor which determines whether he is to be called well or ill.

The question arises : Why is it that a healthy person can discharge in the form of inhibitions that which in the neurotic has led to neurosis ? The following may be laid down as the distinguishing characteristics of the inhibitions which we are discussing : (1) Certain ego-tendencies receive a powerful libidinal cathexis. (2) A quantity of anxiety is so distributed amongst these tendencies that it no longer appears in the guise of anxiety but in that of ' pain ',[14] mental distress, awkwardness, etc. Analysis, however, shows that these manifestations represent anxiety which is only differentiated in degree and which has not manifested itself as such. Accordingly, inhibition would imply that a certain quantity of anxiety had been taken up by an ego-tendency which already had a previous libidinal cathexis. The basis of successful repression would thus be the libidinal cathexis of ego-instincts, accompanied in this double-sided way by an outcome in inhibition.

The more perfectly the mechanism of successful repression accom-

[13] ' The Unconscious ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

[14] Writing of the connection between ' pain ' and anxiety in dreams, Freud says (*Introductory Lectures*, p. 183) : ' The hypothesis which holds good for anxiety-dreams without any distortion may be adopted also for those which have undergone some degree of distortion and for other kinds of unpleasant dreams in which the accompanying unpleasant feelings probably approximate to anxiety '.

plishes its work the less easy is it to recognize the anxiety for what it is, even in the form of disinclination. In people who are quite healthy and apparently quite free from inhibitions it ultimately appears only in the form of weakened or partially weakened inclinations.[15]

If we equate the capacity to employ superfluous libido in a cathexis of ego-tendencies with the capacity to *sublimate*, we may probably assume that the person who remains healthy succeeds in doing so on account of his greater capacity for sublimating at a very early stage of his ego-development.

Repression would then act upon the ego-tendencies selected for the purpose and thus inhibitions would arise. In other cases the mechanisms of the neuroses would come more or less into operation and result in the formation of symptoms.

We know that the Œdipus complex brings repression into play with quite peculiar force and at the same time liberates the dread of castration. We may probably also assume that this great ' wave ' of anxiety is reinforced by anxiety already existing (possibly only as a potential disposition) in consequence of earlier repressions—this latter anxiety may have operated directly as castration-anxiety originating in the ' primal castrations '.[16] I have repeatedly in analysis discovered birth-anxiety to be castration-anxiety reviving earlier material and have found that resolving the castration-anxiety dissipated the birth-anxiety. For instance, I came across the fear in a child that when he was on the ice it would give way beneath him or that he would fall through a hole in a bridge—both obviously birth-anxiety. Repeatedly I found that these fears were actuated by the far less obvious wishes—brought into play as a result of the sexual-symbolic meaning of skating, bridges, etc.—to force his way back into the mother by means of coitus, and these wishes gave rise to the dread of castration. This also makes it easy to understand how in the unconscious generation and birth are frequently conceived of as coitus on the part of the child,

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[15] Even in this form of successful repression, in which the transformation undergone by anxiety makes it quite unrecognizable, it is undoubtedly possible to effect the withdrawal of very large quantities of libido. In quite a large number of cases analysis proved that the development of the habits and peculiarities of every individual had arisen under the influence of libidinous ideas.

[16] Cf. Freud, ' On the Transformation of Instincts with special reference to Anal Erotism ', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II ; Stärcke, *Psychoanalyse und Psychiatrie* ; Alexander, loc. cit.

who, even though it be with the father's help, thus penetrates into the maternal vagina.

It seems no great step then to regard the *pavor nocturnus* which occurs at the age of two or three as the anxiety which is liberated in the first stage of repression of the Œdipus complex, the binding and discharge of which subsequently ensues in various ways.[17]

The fear of castration that develops when the Œdipus complex is repressed is now directed towards the ego-tendencies which have already received a libidinal cathexis, and then in its turn, by means of this cathexis, is bound and discharged.

I think it is quite evident that just in proportion as the sublimations hitherto effected are quantitatively abundant and qualitatively strong so will the anxiety with which they are now invested be completely and imperceptibly distributed amongst them and thus discharged.

In Fritz and Felix I was able to prove that the inhibitions of pleasure in motion were very closely connected with those of pleasure in learning and of various ego-tendencies and interests (which I will not now specify). In both cases that which made possible this *displacement of inhibition* or anxiety from one group of ego-tendencies to another was obviously the main cathexis of a sexual-symbolic character which was common to both groups.

In the thirteen-year-old Felix, whose analysis I shall use to illustrate my remarks in a later part of this paper, the form in which this displacement appeared was an alternation of his inhibitions between games and lessons. In his first years at school he had been a good pupil, but on the other hand he was very timid and awkward in all kinds of games. When his father came back from the war, he used to beat and scold the boy for this cowardice and by these methods attained the result he desired. Felix became good at games and passionately keen on them, but hand in hand with this change there developed in him a disinclination for school and all learning and knowledge. This dislike grew into

[17] The result of repression then appears in a striking manner somewhat later (at the age of three or four, or rather older) in certain manifestations, some of which are fully formed symptoms—effects of the Œdipus-complex. It is clear (but the fact still requires demonstration) that, if it were possible to undertake an analysis of the child at the time of the *pavor nocturnus* or soon after it, and to resolve this anxiety, the ground would be cut away from under the neurosis and possibilities of sublimation would be opened out. My own observations lead me to believe that analytic investigation is not impossible with children of this age.

an undisguised antipathy, and this he brought with him to analysis. The common sexual-symbolic cathexis formed a relation between the two sets of inhibitions, and it was partly his father's intervention, leading him to regard games as the sublimation more consonant with his ego, which enabled him to displace the whole inhibition from games to lessons.

The factor of ' consonance with the ego ' is, I think, also of importance in determining against which libidinally invested tendency the repressed libido (discharged as anxiety) will be directed, and which tendency will thus succumb to inhibition in a greater or lesser degree.

This mechanism of displacement from one inhibition to another seems to me to present analogies with the mechanism of the phobias. But, while in the latter all that happens is that the ideational content gives place through displacement to a substitutive formation, without the sum of affect disappearing, in inhibition the discharge of the sum of affect seems to occur simultaneously.

' As we know, the development of anxiety is the reaction of the ego to danger and the signal preparatory to flight ; it is then not a great step to imagine that in neurotic anxiety also the ego is attempting a flight from the demands of its libido, and is treating this internal danger as if it were an external one. Then our expectation, that where anxiety is present there must be something of which one is afraid, would be fulfilled. The analogy goes further than this, however. Just as the tension prompting the attempt to flee from external danger is resolved into holding one's ground and taking appropriate defensive measures, so the development of neurotic anxiety yields to a symptom-formation, which enables the anxiety to be " bound " '.[18]

In an analogous fashion, as it seems to me, we might look upon inhibition as the compulsory restriction, now arising from within, of a dangerous excess of libido—a restriction which at one period of human history took the form of compulsion from without. At the outset, then, the first reaction of the ego to the danger of a damming-up of the libido would be anxiety : ' the signal for flight '. But the prompting to flight gives place to ' holding one's ground and taking appropriate defensive measures ' : which corresponds to symptom-formation. Another defensive measure would be submission by restriction of the libidinal tendencies, that is to say, inhibition ; but this would only become possible if the subject succeeded in diverting libido on to the

[18] Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 338.

activities of the self-preservative instincts and thus bringing to an issue on the field of the ego-tendencies the conflict between instinctual energy and repression. Thus inhibition as the result of successful repression would be the prerequisite and at the same time the consequence of civilization. In this way primitive man, whose mental life is in so many respects similar to that of the neurotic,[19] would have arrived at the mechanism of neurosis, for not having sufficient capacity for sublimation he probably also lacked the capacity for the mechanism of successful repression.

Having reached a level of civilization conditioned by repression, yet being in the main capable of repression only by way of the mechanisms of neurosis, he is unable to advance beyond this particular infantile cultural level.

I would now draw attention to the conclusion which emerges from my argument up to this point: the absence or presence of capacities (or even the degree in which they are present), though it appears to be determined simply by constitutional factors and to be part of the development of the ego-instincts, proves to be further determined by other, libidinal, factors and to be susceptible of change through analysis.

One of these basic factors is libidinal cathexis as a necessary preliminary to inhibition. This conclusion agrees with the facts which have been repeatedly observed in psycho-analysis. But we find that libidinal cathexis of an ego-tendency exists even where inhibition has not resulted. It is (as appears with special clearness in infant-analysis) a constant component of every talent and every interest. If this is so, we must suppose that for the development of an ego-tendency not only a constitutional disposition but the following considerations must be of importance: how, at what period and in what quantity—in fact, under what conditions—the alliance with libido takes place; so that the development of the ego-tendency must also depend on the fate of the libido with which it is associated, that is to say, on the success of the libidinal cathexis. But this reduces the importance of the constitutional factor in talents and, in analogy with what Freud has proved with reference to disease, the 'accidental' factor is seen to be of great importance.

We know that at the narcissistic stage the ego-instincts and sexual instincts are still united and that at the beginning the sexual instincts obtain a foothold on the territory of the self-preservative instincts.

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[19] Cf. Freud, *Totem und Tabu.*

The study of the transference-neuroses has taught us that they subsequently part company, operate as two separate forms of energy and develop differently. While we accept as valid the differentiation between ego-instincts and sexual instincts, we know on the other hand from Freud that some part of the sexual instincts remains throughout life associated with the ego-instincts and furnishes them with libidinal components. That which I have previously called the sexual-symbolic cathexis of a trend or activity belonging to the ego-instincts corresponds to this libidinal component. We call this process of cathexis with libido 'sublimation' and explain its genesis by saying that it gives to superfluous libido, for which there is no adequate satisfaction, the possibility of discharge, and that the damming-up of libido is thus lessened or brought to an end. This conception agrees also with Freud's assertion that the process of sublimation opens up an avenue of discharge for over-powerful excitations emanating from the separate component-sources of sexuality and enables them to be applied in other directions. Thus, he says, where the subject is of an abnormal constitutional disposition the superfluous excitation may find outlet not only in perversion or neurosis but also in sublimation.[20]

In his examination of the sexual origin of speech, Sperber shows [21] that sexual impulses have played an important part in the evolution of speech, that the first spoken sounds were the alluring calls of mate to mate and that this rudimentary speech developed as a rhythmic accompaniment to work, which thus became associated with sexual pleasure. Jones draws the conclusion that sublimation is the ontogenetic repetition of the process described by Sperber.[22] At the same time, however, in these conditions of speech we see the conditioning factors in the genesis of symbolism. Ferenczi postulates that the basis of identification, as a stage preliminary to symbolism, is the fact that at an early stage of its development the child tries to rediscover its bodily organs and their activities in every object which it encounters. Since it institutes a similar comparison within its own body as well, it probably sees in the upper part of its body an equivalent for each affectively important detail of the lower part. According to Freud, the early orientation to the subject's own body is accompanied also

[20] *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, S. 100.

[21] Sperber, *Imago*, Bd. I.

[22] Jones, 'The Theory of Symbolism', *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Third Edition; cf. also Rank and Sachs, *Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse für die Geisteswissenschaften.*

by the discovery of fresh sources of pleasure. It may very well be this that makes possible the comparison between different organs and areas of the body. This comparison must be subsequently followed by the process of identification with other objects—a process in which, according to Jones, the pleasure-principle allows us to compare two otherwise quite different objects on the basis of a similitude of pleasurable tone, or of interest.[23] But we are probably justified in assuming that on the other hand these objects and activities, not in themselves sources of pleasure, become so through this identification, a sexual pleasure being displaced on to them, as Sperber supposes it to have been displaced on to work in primitive man. Then, when repression begins to operate and the step from identification to symbol-formation is taken, it at once becomes evident that the latter affords an opportunity for libido to be displaced on to other objects and activities of the self-preservative instincts, not originally possessing a pleasurable tone. Here we arrive at the mechanism of sublimation.

Accordingly, we see that *identification* is a stage preliminary not only to symbol-formation but at the same time to the evolution of speech and sublimation. The latter takes place by way of symbol-formation, libidinal phantasies becoming fixated in sexual-symbolic fashion upon particular objects, activities and interests. I may illustrate this statement as follows. In the cases I have mentioned of pleasure in motion—games and athletic activities—we could recognize the influence of the sexual-symbolic meaning of the playing-field, the road, etc. (symbolizing the mother), while walking, running, and athletic movements stood for forcing one's way back into the mother. At the same time, the feet, the hands and the body, which carry out these activities and in consequence of early identification are equated with the penis, served to attract to themselves some of the phantasies which really had to do with the penis and the situations of gratification associated with that organ. The connecting-link was probably pleasure in motion or rather organ-pleasure in itself. This is the point where sublimation diverges from hysterical symptom-formation, having hitherto run the same course.

In order to set forth more exactly the analogies and differences between symptoms and sublimation I would refer to Freud's analysis of Leonardo da Vinci. Freud takes as his starting-point Leonardo's infantile recollection or phantasy that when he was still in his cradle a

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[23] Jones, loc. cit.

vulture flew down to him, opened his mouth with its tail and pressed its tail several times against his lips. Leonardo himself makes the comment that thus his constant occupation in such detail with vultures was determined for him very early in life, and Freud shows how this phantasy was actually of great importance in Leonardo's art and also in his bent for natural science.

From Freud's analysis we learn that the real memory-content of the phantasy is the situation of the child being suckled and kissed by the mother. The idea of the bird's tail in his mouth (corresponding to fellatio) is evidently a recasting of the phantasy in a passive homosexual shape. At the same time we see that it represents a condensation of Leonardo's early infantile sexual enquiries, which led him to assume that the mother possessed a penis. We frequently find that, when the epistemophilic instinct is early associated with sexual interests, the result is inhibition or obsessional neurosis and brooding mania. Freud goes on to show that Leonardo escaped these fates through the sublimation of this component-instinct, which thus did not fall a victim to repression. I should now like to ask: How did Leonardo escape hysteria? For the germ of hysteria seems to me recognizable in this condensed element of the vulture's tail in the phantasy—an element often met with in hysterics as a fellatio-phantasy, embodied for instance in the globus sensation. According to Freud we have in the symptomatology of hysteria a reproduction of the capacity for displacement of the erotogenic zones which is manifest in the child's early orientation and identification. Thus we see that identification is also a stage preliminary to hysterical symptom-formation, and it is this identification which enables the hysteric to effect the characteristic displacement from below upwards. If now we assume that the situation of gratification through fellatio, which in Leonardo became fixated, was reached by the same path (identification—symbol-formation—fixation) as leads to hysterical conversion, it seems to me that the point of divergence occurs at the fixation. In Leonardo the pleasurable situation did not become fixated as such: he transferred it to ego-tendencies. He must have had the capacity of making, very early in life, a far-reaching identification with the objects of the world around him. Possibly this capacity was due to an unusually early and extensive development from narcissistic to object-libido. Another contributing factor was undoubtedly the ability to hold libido in a state of suspension. On the other hand we must suppose that there is yet another factor of importance for the capacity of sublimating—one

which certainly forms a very considerable part of the talent with which an individual is constitutionally endowed. I refer to the ease with which an ego-activity or tendency takes on a libidinal cathexis and the extent to which it is thus receptive ; on the physical plane we have an analogy in the readiness with which a particular area of the body receives innervation and the importance of this factor in the development of hysterical symptoms. All these factors, which go to make up what we understand by 'disposition', would form a complementary series, like those with which we are familiar in the ætiology of the neuroses. In Leonardo's case not only was an identification established between nipple, penis and bird's tail, but he proceeded to resolve this fixation by an interest in the motion of this object, in the bird itself and its flight and the space in which it flew. The pleasurable situations, actually experienced or phantasied, remained indeed unconscious and fixated, but they were given play in an ego-tendency and thus could be discharged. When they receive this sort of representation the fixations are divested of their sexual character ; they become consonant with the ego and if the sublimation succeeds—if, that is to say, they are merged in an ego-tendency—they do not undergo repression. When this happens, they provide the ego-tendency with the sum of affect which acts as the stimulus and driving force of talent and, since the ego-tendency affords them free scope to exercise themselves in a manner consonant with the ego, they allow phantasy to unfold itself without check and thus are themselves discharged.

In hysterical fixation, on the other hand, phantasy holds so tenaciously to the pleasure-situation that, before sublimation is possible, it succumbs to repression and fixation ; and thus, assuming that the other ætiological factors are operative, it is forced to find representation and discharge in hysterical symptoms. The way in which Leonardo's scientific interest in the flight of birds developed shows that even in sublimation the fixation to the phantasy with all its determinants continues to operate.

Freud has comprehensively summed up the essential characteristics of hysterical symptoms.[24] If we apply the test of his description to Leonardo's sublimation as seen in connection with the vulture-phantasy, we shall see the analogy between symptoms and sublimation. I think, too, that this sublimation corresponds to Freud's formula that an

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[24] 'Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality', *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

hysterical symptom often expresses on the one hand a masculine, and on the other a feminine, unconscious sexual phantasy. In Leonardo the feminine side is expressed by the passive phantasy of fellatio; the masculine phantasy seems to me recognizable in a passage which Freud cites from Leonardo's notes as a kind of prophecy: 'The great bird will take its first flight from the back of its great swan; it will fill the universe with amazement and all literature will tell of its fame and it will be an everlasting glory to the nest where it was born'. Does not this mean winning the mother's recognition of his genital achievements? I think that this phantasy, which also expresses an early infantile wish, was represented, together with the vulture-phantasy, in his scientific study of the flight of birds and of aeronautics. Thus Leonardo's genital activity, which played so small a part as far as actual instinctual gratification was concerned, was wholly merged in his sublimations.

According to Freud the hysterical attack is simply a pantomime representation of phantasies, translated into terms of motion and projected on to motility. An analogous assertion may be made of those phantasies and fixations which, as in the artist, are represented by physical motor innervations whether in relation to the subject's own body or some other medium. This statement agrees with what Ferenczi and Freud have written on the analogies and relations between art and hysteria on the one hand, and the hysterical attack and coitus on the other.

Now as the hysterical attack uses for its material a peculiar condensation of phantasies, so the development either of an interest in art or a creative *talent* would partly depend upon the wealth and intensity of fixations and phantasies represented in sublimation. It must be of importance not only in what quantities all the constitutional and accidental factors concerned are present and how harmoniously they co-operate, but also what is the degree of genital activity which can be deflected into sublimation, since even in hysteria the primacy of the genital zone has always been attained.

Genius differs from talent not only quantitatively but also in its essential quality. Nevertheless we may assume for it the same genetic conditions as for talent. Genius can result only when all factors concerned are present in such abundance as to give rise to unique groupings, made up of units which bear some essential similarity to one another—I mean, the libidinal fixations.

In discussing the question of sublimation I suggested that one

determining factor in its success was that the fixations destined for sublimation should not have undergone repression too early, for this precludes the possibility of development. Accordingly we should have to postulate a complementary series between the formation of symptoms on the one hand and successful sublimation on the other—these series to include also possibilities of less successful sublimation. In my opinion we find that a fixation which leads to a symptom was already on the way to sublimation but was cut off from it by repression. The earlier this happens the more will the fixation retain of the actual sexual character of the pleasure-situation and the more will it sexualize the tendency on which it has bestowed its libidinal cathexis, instead of becoming merged in that tendency. The more unstable, too, will this capacity for merging be, for it will remain perpetually exposed to the onslaught of repression.

I should like to add a few words about the distinction between unsuccessful sublimation and inhibition, and the relations between the two. I have mentioned certain inhibitions which I termed normal and which had arisen where repression had been successful; when these were resolved by analysis, it was found that they were based in part on very strong sublimations. These had, it is true, been formed, but had been inhibited either entirely or to some extent. They had not the character of unsuccessful sublimations, which oscillate between symptom-formation, neurotic traits and sublimation. It was only in analysis that they were recognized as inhibitions; they manifested themselves in a negative form, as a lack of inclination or capacity, or sometimes only as a diminution in these. Inhibitions are formed (as I tried to show on page 32) by the transferring of superfluous libido, which finds discharge as anxiety, on to sublimations. Thus sublimation is diminished or destroyed by repression in the form of inhibition, but symptom-formation is avoided, for the anxiety is thus discharged in a manner analogous to that with which we are familiar in hysterical symptom-formation. Accordingly, we may suppose that the normal man attains his state of health by means of inhibitions, assisted by successful repression. If the quantity of anxiety which invests the inhibitions exceeds that of the sublimation, the result is neurotic inhibition, for the tug-of-war between libido and repression is no longer decided on the field of the ego-tendencies, and therefore the same processes as are employed in the neuroses to bind anxiety are set going. Whilst in unsuccessful sublimation the phantasies encounter repression on their way to sublimation and thus become fixated, we

may suppose that for a sublimation to be inhibited it must have actually come into existence as a sublimation. Here again we may postulate the complementary series already inferred between symptoms on the one side and successful sublimation on the other. We may assume, however, on the other hand that in proportion as the sublimations are successful and hence little libido remains dammed up in the ego, ready to be discharged as anxiety, the less necessity will there be for inhibition. We may be sure, too, that the more successful the sublimation the less will it be exposed to repression. Here again we may postulate a complementary series.

We know the significance of masturbation-phantasies in hysterical symptoms and hysterical attacks. Let me give an illustration of the effect of masturbation-phantasies on sublimation. Felix, aged thirteen, produced the following phantasy in analysis. He was playing with some beautiful girls who were naked and whose breasts he stroked and caressed. He did not see the lower part of their bodies. They were playing football with one another. This single sexual phantasy, which in Felix was a substitute for onanism, was succeeded during the analysis by many other phantasies, some in the form of day-dreams, others coming to him at night as a substitute for onanism, and all concerned with games. These phantasies showed how some of his fixations were elaborated into an interest in games. In the first sexual phantasy, which was only a fragmentary one, coitus had already been replaced by football.[25] This game, together with others, had absorbed his interest and ambition entirely, for this sublimation was reinforced by way of reaction as a protection against other repressed and inhibited interests less consonant with the ego.

This reactive or otherwise obsessive reinforcement may very well be in general a determining factor in that destruction of sublimations which sometimes occurs through analysis, though as a rule our experience is that analysis only promotes sublimation. The symptom is given up, as being a costly substitutive formation, when the fixations are resolved and other channels are opened for discharge of the libido. But the bringing into consciousness of such fixations as form the basis of sublimation has as a rule a different result : very often the sublima-

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[25] This meaning of football, and indeed of all sorts of games with balls, I discovered from the analyses of both boys and girls to be typical. I will illustrate this statement elsewhere ; at present I will merely state that I came to this conclusion.

tion is reinforced, for it is retained as the most expedient and probably the earliest substitutive channel for the discharge of libido which must remain unsatisfied.

We know that fixation to ' primal ' scenes or phantasies is potent in the genesis of neurosis. I will give an example of the importance of primal phantasies in the development of sublimations. Fritz, who was nearly seven years old, recounted many phantasies about the ' Pipi-general ' (the genital organ) who led the soldiers, the ' Pipi-drops ', down streets ; Fritz gave an exact description of the situation and lie of these streets and compared them with the shape of letters of the alphabet. The general led the soldiers to a village, where they were quartered. The content of these phantasies was coitus with the mother, the accompanying movements of the penis and the way that it took. From their context it appeared that at the same time they were masturbation-phantasies. We found that they were operative in his sublimations, together with other elements, into the development of which I cannot at present enter. When he rode on his ' scooter ' he attached particular importance to making turns and curves,[26] such as he had described in various phantasies also about his Pipi. For instance he once said that he had invented a patent for the Pipi. The patent consisted in being able, without touching it with his hand, to make the Pipi appear with a jerk through the opening in his knickers by twisting and turning his whole body.

He constantly had phantasies of inventing special kinds of motor-bicycles and cars. The point of these constructions of his phantasy [27] was invariably to attain special skill in steering and curving in and out. ' Women ', he said, ' can perhaps steer but they cannot swerve

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[26] His great delight and skill in this pastime had been preceded originally by awkwardness and distaste. During analysis there occurred first of all an oscillation between enjoyment and distaste—which happened also in regard to his other games of movement and his sports. Later on, he attained to a lasting pleasure and skill in place of the inhibition, which had been determined by the dread of castration. The same determination became evident in regard to his inhibition (and subsequently his pleasure) in tobogganing. Here again he laid peculiar stress on the different postures assumed. We discovered an analogous attitude in him to all games of motion and athletics.

[27] It was plain that the germ of the patent devices and constructions which he phantasied lay always in the movements and functions of the Pipi, which his inventions were designed to bring to greater perfection.

quickly enough '. One of his phantasies was that all children, girls as well as boys, as soon as they were born had their own little motor-bicycles. Each child could take three or four others on its bicycle and might drop them on the way wherever it liked. Naughty children fell off when the bicycle turned a corner sharply, and the others were put off at the terminus (were born). Talking of the letter S, about which he had many phantasies, he said that its children, the little S's, could shoot and drive motors when they were still in long clothes. All of them had motor-bicycles, on which they could go farther in a quarter of an hour than grown-up people could go in an hour, and the children were better than the grown-ups at running and jumping and in all kinds of bodily dexterity. He also had many phantasies about the different kinds of vehicles which he would like to have and in which he would go to school as soon as he got them, and take his mother or sister with him. At one time he showed anxiety in regard to the idea of pouring benzine into the tank of a motor, because of the danger of explosion ; it turned out that in the phantasy of filling up a large or small motor-bicycle with benzine, the latter represented the ' Pipi-water ' or semen, which he supposed to be necessary for coitus, while the peculiarly skilful handling of a motor-bicycle and making constant curves and turns stood for skill in coition.

It was only quite early in life that he had given any sign of this strong fixation to the road and all interests connected with it. When he was about five years old, however, he had a marked distaste for going for a walk. At this age, too, his lack of understanding of distance in time or space was very striking. Thus, when he had been travelling for some hours, he thought he was still in his native town. Associated with his dislike of going out walking was his total lack of interest in becoming acquainted with the place where he had come to stay and the complete absence of any capacity or feeling for orientation.

A keen interest in vehicles took the form of watching carts go by for hours at a time from a window or the entrance-hall of the house and also a passion for driving. His chief occupation was pretending to be a coachman or a chauffeur, chairs being pushed together to form the vehicle. To this game, which really only consisted in his sitting there quite quietly, he devoted himself so exclusively that it seemed like a compulsion, especially as he had a total disinclination for any other kind of game. It was at this time that I began his analysis and after a few months there was a complete change, not only in this respect, but in general.

Hitherto he had been free from anxiety, but during the analysis intense anxiety made its appearance and was analytically resolved. In the last stage of the analysis a phobia of street-boys manifested itself. This was connected with the fact that he had repeatedly been molested by boys in the street. He displayed fear of them and finally could not be persuaded to go into the street alone. I could not get at this phobia analytically, because for external reasons the analysis could not be continued, but I learnt that, soon after we broke it off, the phobia completely disappeared and was succeeded by a peculiar pleasure in roaming about.[28]

Hand in hand with this he developed a more lively feeling for orientation in space. At first his interest was specially directed towards stations, the doors of railway-carriages, and further to the entrances and exits of places as soon as he set foot in them. He began to take a great interest in the rails of the electric tramway and the streets through which it led. Analysis had removed his distaste for play, which had proved to have many determining factors. His interest in vehicles, which had developed early and had been of an obsessive character, now showed itself in many games, which, in contrast to the earlier monotonous game of chauffeur, were played with a wealth of phantasy. He also displayed a passionate interest in lifts and going in lifts. About this time he was ill and had to stay in bed, whereupon he devised the following games. He crept under the bedclothes and said: 'The hole is getting bigger and bigger, I shall soon get out.' So saying, he slowly lifted up the bedclothes at the opposite end of the bed, till the opening was big enough for him to climb out. Then he played that he was going for a journey under the bedclothes; sometimes he came out on one side and sometimes on the other, and he said when he got to the top that he was now 'overground', which he meant to be the opposite to an underground railway. He had been extraordinarily struck by the sight of the underground railway coming out of the ground at a terminus and continuing above ground. In this game with the bedclothes he took great care that they should not be lifted up at either side during his journey, so that he only became visible

[28] When he was two years and nine months old he once ran away from home and crossed busy streets without a sign of fear. This inclination to run away lasted for about six months. Later he began to show very marked caution about motors (analysis showed that this was neurotic anxiety), and the desire to run away as well as his enjoyment in wandering off seemed to have finally vanished.

when he emerged at one or other end, which he called the end-station. Another time he had a different game with the bedclothes; this consisted in climbing in and out at different points. When playing these games he once said to his mother: 'I am going into your tummy'. About this time he produced the following phantasy. He was going down into the underground. There were many people there. The conductor was going quickly up and down some steps and gave the people their tickets. He was riding in the underground underneath the earth, till the lines met. Then there was a hole and there was some grass. In another of these games in bed he repeatedly made a toy motor with a chauffeur drive over the bedclothes, which he had rolled into a mound. He then said: 'The chauffeur always wants to go over the mountain, but that is a bad way to go'; then, making the chauffeur go under the bedclothes, 'this is the right way'. He was specially interested in one part of the electric railway where there was only a single line, and a loop was formed. He said about this that there had to be a loop, in case another train came in the opposite direction and there was a collision. He illustrated this danger to his mother: 'Look, if two people come in opposite directions' (so saying he ran towards her), 'they run into one another, and so do two horses, if they come like this'. A frequent phantasy of his was what he imagined his mother to be like inside: how there were all sorts of contrivances, especially in her stomach. This was followed by the phantasy of a swing or merry-go-round, on which there were a number of little people, who kept on getting on one after the other and getting off on the other side. There was somebody who pressed on something and helped them to do this.

His new delight in roaming about and all his other interests lasted for some time, but, after several months, they were succeeded by the old dislike for going for a walk. This was still there when I again began to analyse him recently. He was then nearly seven years old.[29]

During this next part of his analysis, which now went very deep, this dislike increased and showed clearly as an inhibition, until the anxiety behind it became manifest so that it could be resolved. It was in particular the *way to school* which called forth the anxiety as such. We found that one of the reasons why he did not like the roads

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[29] The boy had had a partial relapse, which was due to the fact that, in my desire to be careful, I had not taken the analysis deep enough. Part of the result obtained, however, had proved to be lasting.

along which he went to school was because there were trees on them. Roads where there were fields on each side, on the other hand, he thought very beautiful, because paths could be made there and they could be turned into a garden, if flowers were planted and watered.[30] His antipathy to trees, which for some time took the form of fear of woods, proved to be partly determined by phantasies of a tree being cut down, which might fall on him. The tree stood to him for his father's large penis, which he wanted to cut off and therefore feared. What his fear was on the way to school we learnt from various phantasies. Once he told me about a bridge (which existed only in his imagination) on his way to school.[31] If there had been a hole in it he might have fallen through. Another time it was a thick piece of string, which he saw lying on the path, that caused anxiety because it reminded him of a snake. At this time, too, he used to try to hop for part of the way, giving as his reason that one of his feet had been cut off. In connection with a picture which he saw in a book he had phantasies about a witch, whom he would meet on his way to school and who would empty a pitcher of ink over him and his satchel. Here the pitcher stood for the penis of the mother.[32] He then added spontaneously that he was afraid of it, but at the same time it was nice. Another time he phantasied that he met a beautiful witch and looked intently at the crown which she wore on her head. Because he stared at her so [*kuckte*] he was a cuckoo [*Kuckuck*] and she charmed away his satchel from him and turned him from a cuckoo into a dove (i.e. a female creature, as he thought).

I will give an instance of phantasies which occurred later on in the analysis, in which the original pleasurable significance of the road was evident. He once told me that he would quite like going to school, if only it were not for the road. He now phantasied that, in order to avoid the road, he laid a ladder across from the window of his room to that of his school-mistress, then he and his mother could go together,

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[30] Connected with the planting of flowers was his habit of passing urine at certain definite points on the way.

[31] S. Ferenczi, ' The Symbolism of Bridges ', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSES, 1922.

[32] His associations to being soiled with ink were: oil and condensed milk—fluids which, as his analysis showed, stood for semen in his mind. It was a mixture of fæces and semen which he supposed to be in the penis both of mother and father.

by climbing from rung to rung. Then he told me about a rope, also stretched from window to window, along which he and his sister were drawn to the school. There was a servant who helped them by throwing the rope, and the children who were already at school helped too. He himself threw the rope back, ' he would move the rope ', as he called it.[33]

During the analysis he became much more active, and thereupon he told me the following story which he called ' highway-robbery ' : There was a gentleman who was very rich and happy, and though he was quite young he wanted to marry. He went into the street and there he saw a beautiful lady and asked her what her name was. She said : ' That has nothing to do with you.' Then he asked where she lived. She said to him again that it was nothing to do with him. They made more and more noise as they talked. Then a policeman came along, who had been watching them, and he took the man to a grand carriage—the kind of carriage such a grand gentleman would have. He was taken to a house with iron bars in front of the window—a prison. He was accused of highway robbery. ' That's what you call it '.[34]

His original pleasure in roads corresponded to the desire for coitus with the mother, and therefore could not come into full operation until the castration-anxiety had been resolved. Similarly we see that, in close connection with this, his love of exploring roads and streets (which formed the basis of his sense of orientation) developed with the release of the sexual curiosity which had likewise been repressed owing to the fear of castration. I will give some examples. He once told me that, when he was urinating, he had to put on the brakes (which he managed by pressing his penis), for otherwise the whole house

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[33] This was part of a very long and abundantly determined phantasy, which yielded material for various theories of procreation and birth. It suggested other associations about a machine invented by himself, by means of which he could throw the rope to different parts of the town. This phantasy again revealed his idea of being procreated by his father, amalgamated with ideas of coitus on his own part.

[34] This phantasy shows what determined his earlier phobia of street-boys, which he had never quite got over. The first analysis, which had not gone deep enough, had not succeeded in clearing up either it or the fixations which formed the basis of his inhibitions. This made it possible for him to relapse. This fact, taken with further experience of the analysis of children, seems to me to prove that infant-analysis as well as later analysis should go as deep as is found to be necessary.

might fall in.[35] In this connection there were many phantasies which showed that he was under the influence of the mental image of the inside of his mother's body and, by identification with her, of his own body. He pictured it as a town, often as a country, and later on as the world, intersected by railway lines. He imagined this town to be provided with everything necessary for the people and animals who lived there and to be furnished with every kind of modern contrivance.

There were telegraphs and telephones, different sorts of railways, lifts and merry-go-rounds, advertisements, etc. The railways were constructed in different ways. Sometimes there was a circular railway with a number of stations and sometimes they were like the town-railway with two termini. There were two kinds of trains on the rails: one was the 'Pipi' train, which carried a 'Pipi'-drop, while the other was a 'Kaki'-train, which was driven by a 'Kaki'.[36] Often the 'Kaki'-train was represented as an ordinary passenger train, while the 'Pipi'-train was an express or electric train. The two termini were the mouth and the 'Pipi'. In this case there was a certain place where the train had to cross a track which ran downhill and sloped away steeply at the sides. Then there was a crash, for the train which ran along this track and carried the children—the 'Kaki'-children—was run into by another. The injured children were taken to the signal-box.[37] This turned out to be the 'Kaki'-hole, which was later often introduced into phantasies as the arrival or departure platform. There was also a collision and a crash when the train came from the other direction, that is, when they got in at the mouth. This represents impregnation through eating, and his disgust at certain kinds of food was determined by these phantasies. There were others, in which he spoke of both railways having the same departure platform. The trains then ran along the same lines, branching off lower down and so leading to the 'Pipi' and the 'Kaki'-hole. How strongly he was influenced by the idea of impregnation through the mouth is seen in a phantasy which forced him to stop seven times when urinating.

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[35] We met with these ideas in his first analysis. (Cf. 'The Development of a Child'.) As the analysis did not go deep enough the phantasies bound up with these ideas could not be released. They made their appearance only in the second analysis.

[36] [Fæces.]

[37] Here I would refer again to a phantasy narrated in 'The Development of a Child'. In this phantasy the 'Kaki'-children ran down some steps from the balcony into the garden (the chamber).

The idea of seven stops proved to have its origin in the number of drops of a medicine which he was taking at the time and for which he had a great repugnance, because, as his analysis showed, he equated it with urine.

There is just one more detail which I would mention in the extraordinarily rich imagery which came to light in these phantasies of a town, railways,[38] stations and roads. Another frequent phantasy was that of a station, to which he gave different names and which I will call A. There were two other stations, B and C, stuck on to the first. Often he pictured these two as a single big station. A was a very important one, because from it all sorts of goods were forwarded, and sometimes passengers got in as well, for instance, railway officials, whom he represented by his finger. A was the mouth, whence food went on its way. The railway officials were the ' Pipi ', and this led back to his ideas of impregnation through the mouth. B and C were used for unloading the goods. In B there was a garden without any trees but with paths which all led into one another, and to which there were four entrances—not doors but simply holes. These turned out to be the openings of the ears and nose. C was the skull, and B and C together the whole head. He said that the head was only stuck on to the mouth, an idea partly determined by his castration-complex. The stomach, too, was often a station, but this arrangement frequently varied. In all this a great part was played by lifts and merry-go-rounds, which were used only to convey the ' Kaki ' and children.

As these and other phantasies were interpreted, his sense and faculty of orientation became stronger and stronger, as was plainly shown in his games and interests.

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[38] The circular railway which came into his phantasies appeared in all his games as well. He constructed trains which ran in a circle and he drove his big hoop round and round in a circle. His constantly increasing interest in the direction and names of streets had developed into an interest in geography. He pretended that he was going on journeys on the map. All this showed that the advance in his phantasies from his home to his town, his country and the world at large (an advance which manifested itself when once the phantasies were set free) was having its effect on his interests also, for their sphere was widening more and more. Here I should like to draw attention to the enormous importance of inhibitions in play from this point of view as well. The inhibition and restriction of interests in play leads to the diminishing of potentialities and interests both in learning and in the whole further development of the mind.

Thus we found that his sense of orientation, which had formerly been strongly inhibited but now developed in a marked manner, was determined by the desire to penetrate the mother's body and to investigate the uterus, with the passages leading in and out and the processes of impregnation and birth.[39]

I found that this libidinal determination of the sense of orientation was typical and that favourable development (or, alternatively, inhibition of the sense of orientation owing to repression) depended upon it. Partial inhibitions of this faculty, e.g. interest in geography and orientation, with a greater or lesser lack of capacity, proved to depend on the factors which I regard as essential to the forming of inhibitions in general. I refer to the period of life and the degree in which repression begins to operate on fixations which are destined for sublimation or are already sublimated. For instance, if the interest in orientation is not repressed, pleasure and interest in it are retained, and the extent of the development of the faculty is then proportionate to the degree of success attending sexual investigations.

[39] In the discussion which took place at the meeting of the Berlin Society on my paper, 'Über die Hemmung und Entwicklung des Orientierungssinnes' (May, 1921), Abraham pointed out that the interest in orientation in relation to the body of the mother is preceded at a very early stage by the interest in orientation in relation to the subject's own body. This is certainly true, but this early orientation seems to share the fate of repression only when the interest in orientation in reference to the mother's body is repressed, of course because of the incestuous wishes bound up with that interest; for in the unconscious the longed-for return to the womb and exploration of it can only be by way of coitus. For instance, Fritz made a tiny toy dog (which constantly represented the *son* in his phantasies) slide along his mother's body. When doing this he had phantasies of the countries through which he was wandering. At her breast there were mountains and near the genital region a great river. But suddenly the little dog was intercepted by servants—toy figures—who charged him with some crime and said he had damaged their master's motor, and the phantasy ended in quarrelling and fighting. At another time he had further phantasies about the little dog's journeys. It had found a pretty spot where he thought he would like to settle, etc. But again it all turned out badly, for Fritz suddenly declared that he had got to shoot the little dog, because it wanted to take away his own log-hut from him. There had, too, been earlier indications of this 'geography of the mother's body'. When he was not five years old he called all the extremities of the body and also the knee-joints 'boundaries', and he called his mother a 'mountain which he was climbing'.

I should like here to draw attention to the very great importance of this inhibition, which, not only in Fritz, radiates to the most diverse interests and studies. Apart from the interest in geography I discovered that it was one of the determining factors in the capacity for drawing [40] and the interest in natural science and everything to do with the exploration of the earth.

In Fritz I found also a very close connection between his lack of orientation in space and in time. Corresponding to his repressed interest in the place of his intra-uterine existence was the interest he showed in details as to the time when he was there. Thus both the questions ' Where was I before birth ? ' and ' When was I there ? ' were repressed.

The unconscious equation of sleep, death and intra-uterine existence was evident in many of his sayings and phantasies, and connected with this was his curiosity as to the duration of these states and their succession in time. It would appear that the change from intra-uterine to extra-uterine existence, as the prototype of all periodicity, is one of the roots of the concept of time and of orientation in time.[41]

There is one thing more which I should like to mention, which shows me that the inhibition of the sense of orientation is of very great importance. In Fritz I found that his resistance to enlightenment, which turned out to be so closely connected with the inhibition of his sense of orientation, arose out of his retaining the infantile sexual theory of the ' anal child '. Analysis showed, however, that he held to this anal theory in consequence of repression due to the Œdipus complex and that his resistance to enlightenment was not caused by an incapacity for apprehending the genital process owing to his not having yet reached the genital level of organization. Rather the converse was true : it was this resistance which hindered his advancing to that level and strengthened his fixation at the anal level.

In this connection I must again refer to the meaning of resistance to enlightenment. The analysis of children has over and over again confirmed me in my view of it. I have been forced to regard it as an

[40] Fritz, for instance, made his first attempts at drawing at this time, though it is true that they gave no sign of talent. The drawings represented railway-lines with stations and towns.

[41] In this conclusion I am in agreement with Dr. Hollós (' Über das Zeitgefühl ', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. VIII), who arrived at the same result from a different point of departure.

important symptom, a sign of inhibitions which determine the whole subsequent development.

In Fritz I found that his attitude towards learning, too, was determined by the same sexual-symbolic cathexis. Analysis showed that his marked distaste for learning was a highly complex inhibition, determined in reference to the separate school-subjects by the repression of different instinctual components. Like the inhibition against walking, games and the sense of orientation, its main determinant was the repression, based on castration-anxiety, of the sexual-symbolic cathexis common to all these interests, namely, the idea of penetrating into the mother by coitus. In his analysis this libidinal cathexis, and with it the inhibition, plainly advanced from the earliest movements and games of motion to the way to school, school itself, his schoolmistress and the activities of school life.

For in his phantasies the lines in his exercise book were roads, the book itself was the whole world and the letters rode into it on motor bicycles, i.e. on the pen. Again, the pen was a boat and the exercise book a lake. We found that Fritz's many mistakes (which for a time could not be overcome, until they were resolved in analysis, when they disappeared without any trouble) were determined by his many phantasies about the different letters which were friendly with one another or fought and had all sorts of experiences. In general he regarded the small letters as the children of the capitals. The German capital S he looked upon as the emperor of the long German s's; it had two hooks at the end of it to distinguish it from the empress, the terminal s, which had only one hook.[42]

We discovered that the spoken word was to him identical with the written. The word stood for the penis or the child, while the movement of the tongue and the pen stood for coitus.

I shall just briefly mention what the analysis of children has shown me to be the general significance of libidinal cathexes for the development of childish speech and its peculiarities, and indeed for the development of speech as a whole. In speech oral,[43] cannibalistic, anal and sadistic fixations are sublimated, more or less successfully according

[42] [In German there are, besides the capital S, two kinds of small s, one used at the beginning and middle and the other only at the end of the word.—Translator's note.]

[43] I would refer here to an interesting paper by Dr. S. Spielrein (*Imago*, Bd. VIII), in which, in a very illuminating way, she traces the origin of the childish words ' Papa ' and ' Mama ' to the act of sucking.

to the degree in which the fixations of the earlier levels of organization are comprehended under the primacy of the genital fixations. I think this process, which enables perverse fixations to be discharged, must surely be demonstrable in all sublimations. Owing to the operation of complexes, various intensifications and displacements arise, which are of the nature of regression or reaction. These afford an unlimited number of possibilities in the individual, as appears, to keep the example of speech, both in his own special peculiarities of speech and in the development of languages in general.

In Fritz I found that speaking, which undoubtedly is one of the earliest sublimations, was inhibited from the outset. During the analysis this child, who had begun to speak unusually late and subsequently seemed to be of a silent disposition, turned into a remarkably talkative little fellow. He never tired of telling stories which he made up himself, and in these there was a development of phantasy to which he had shown no tendency before the analysis. But it was plain, too, that he took a delight in the actual speaking and that he stood in a special relation to words in themselves. Hand in hand with this, too, went a strong interest in grammar. As an illustration I will quote briefly what he said grammar meant to him. He told me that ' the root of the word itself does not move, only its termination '. He wanted to give his sister on her birthday a notebook in which he wrote everything that a thing did. What does a thing do ? ' A thing jumps, a thing runs, a thing flies ', etc. It was the representation of what the penis can do that he wanted to write in the book and also to do in the mother.

The significance of speaking as a genital activity, as reported also by Abraham in a case of pseudologia, I found at work in a greater or lesser degree in every case. In my opinion both this and the anal determination are typical. This was peculiarly evident to me in the case of a girl with a stammer, who had strong homosexual fixations. This girl, Grete, who was nine years old, looked upon speaking and singing as the male activity and the movement of the tongue as that of the penis. She took a special delight when lying on the couch in reciting certain French sentences. She said it was ' such fun when her voice went up and down like someone on a ladder '. Her association to this was that the ladder was set up in a snail. But would there be room for it in a snail ? (A snail, however, was her name for her genitals.) The comma and the full stop, like the pause corresponding to them in speaking, meant that one had gone ' up and down ' once

and was beginning again. A single word stood for the penis and a sentence for the thrust of the penis in coitus and also for coitus as a whole.

In many cases I was able to establish that theatres and concerts, in fact any performance where there is something to be seen or heard, always stand for parental coitus—listening and watching standing for observation in fact or phantasy—while the falling curtain stands for objects which hinder observations, such as bedclothes, the side of the bed, etc. I will quote an example. Little Grete told me about a play at the theatre. At first she had been distressed at not having a good enough seat and having to be at some distance from the stage. But she made out that she saw better than the people who sat quite near the stage, for they could not see all over it. Her associations then led to the position of the children's beds, which were placed in their parents' bedroom in such a way that her younger brother slept close to his parents' bed, but the backs of the beds made it difficult for him to see them. Her bed, however, was further off and she could see theirs perfectly.

In Felix, who was thirteen years old and up till then had shown no musical talent, a marked love of music gradually developed during analysis. This development was the result of bringing into consciousness his fixation to early infantile observations of coitus. It proved that sounds, some of which he had heard proceeding from his parents' bed and the rest of which he had phantasied, had formed the basis of a very strong (and very early inhibited) interest in music, an interest which was liberated again during analysis. This determination of the interest in and gift for music I found present (side by side with the anal determination) in other cases as well, and I believe it to be typical.

In Frau H. I found that a marked artistic appreciation of colours, forms and pictures was similarly determined, with this difference, that in her the early infantile observations and phantasies were concerned with what was to be *seen*. For instance, in this case a certain bluish tinge in pictures directly represented the male element; it was a fixation of the analysand to the colour of the penis in erection. These fixations resulted from observations of coitus, which had led to comparisons with the colour and form of the penis when not in erection, and further to observations of a certain change in colouring and form in different lights, the contrast with the pubic hair and so forth. Here the anal basis of the interest in colour was always present. One can repeatedly establish the fact of this libidinal cathexis of pictures as

representing penis or child (the same applies to works of art in general), and further, of painters, virtuosi and creative artists, as standing for the father.

I will give only one more example of the significance of pictures as child and penis—a meaning which I constantly come across in analysis. Fritz, aged five and a half, said that he would like to see his mother naked, adding: 'I should like to see your tummy and the picture in it'. When she asked: 'Do you mean where you once were?' he replied: 'Yes, I should like to look in your tummy and see if there isn't a child there'. At this time, under the influence of analysis, his sexual curiosity manifested itself more freely and his theory of the 'anal child' came into the foreground.

To sum up what I have said, I have found that artistic and intellectual fixations, as well as those which subsequently lead to neurosis, have as some of their most powerful determining factors the primal scene or phantasies of it. An important point is which of the senses is more strongly excited: whether the interest applies more to what is to be seen or to what is to be heard. This will probably also determine, and on the other hand will also depend upon, whether ideas present themselves to the subject visually or auditorily. No doubt the constitutional factor plays a part here.

In Fritz it was the movement of the penis to which he was fixated, in Felix the sounds which he heard, in others the colour-effects. Of course, for the talent or bent to develop, those special factors which I have already discussed in detail must come into play. In fixation to the primal scene (or phantasies) *the degree of activity*, which is so important for sublimation itself, undoubtedly also determines whether the subject develops a talent for creation or reproduction. For the degree of activity certainly influences the mode of identification. I mean it is a question whether it will spend itself in the admiration, study and imitation of the masterpieces of others or whether there will be an endeavour to excel these by the subject's own performances. In Felix I found that the first interest in music which manifested itself in analysis was exclusively concerned with criticism of composers and conductors. As his activity was gradually released he began to try himself to imitate what he heard. But at a further stage of still greater activity phantasies made their appearance in which the young composer was compared to older men. Although apparently there was no question of creative talent in this case, my observation of the way in which his activity, as it became freer, influenced his attitude in all his

sublimations gave me some insight into the importance of activity in the development of talent. His analysis showed me what other analyses confirmed : that criticism always has its origin in the observation and criticism of the paternal genital activities. In Felix it was clear that he was onlooker and critic in one and that in his phantasy he also took part as a member of an orchestra in what he saw and heard. It was only at a much later stage of released activity that he could trust himself with the paternal rôle—that is, it was only then that he would have been able to summon up courage to become a composer himself, if he had had sufficient talent.

Let me sum up. Speech and pleasure in motion have always a libidinal cathexis of a genital-symbolic nature. This cathexis is effected by the way of the early identification of the penis with foot, hand, tongue, head and body, whence it proceeds to the activities of these members, which thus acquire the significance of coitus. After the use made by the sexual instincts of the self-preservative instincts in respect of the function of nutrition, the next ego-activities to which they turn are those of speech and pleasure in motion. Hence, speech may be assumed not only to have assisted the formation of symbols and sublimation, but to be itself the result of one of the earliest sublimations. It seems then that, where the necessary conditions for the capacity to sublimate are present, the fixations, beginning with these most primary sublimations and in connection with them, continually proceed to a sexual-symbolic cathexis of further ego-activities and interests. Freud demonstrates that that which seems to be an impulsion towards perfection in human beings is the result of the tension arising out of the disparity between man's desire for gratification (which is not to be appeased by all possible kinds of reactive substitutive formations and of sublimations) and the gratification which in reality he obtains. I think that we may put down to this motive not only that which Groddeck calls the compulsion to make symbols [44] but also a constant development of the symbols. Accordingly the impulsion constantly to effect by means of fixations a libidinal cathexis of fresh ego-activities and interests genetically (i.e. by means of sexual symbolism) connected with one another, and to create new activities and interests would be the driving force in the cultural evolution of mankind. This explains, too, how it is that we find symbols at work in increasingly complicated inventions and activities, just as the child

[44] *Imago*, Bd. VIII, 1922.

constantly advances from his original primitive symbols, games and activities to others, leaving the former ones behind.

Further, in this paper I have tried to show the enormous importance of those inhibitions which cannot be called neurotic. There are some which in themselves do not seem of any practical importance and can be recognized as inhibitions only in analysis (in their full implication possibly only if *infant-analysis* is undertaken). Such are a falling-off in certain inclinations, insignificant dislikes—in short, the inhibitions of the healthy person, which assume the most varied disguises. Yet we shall come to attribute to these a very great importance when we consider at how big a sacrifice of instinctual energy the normal man purchases his health. 'If, however, instead of attributing a wide significance to the term psychical impotence, we look about for instances of its peculiar symptomatology in less marked forms, we shall not be able to deny that the behaviour in love of the men of present-day civilization bears in general the character of the psychically impotent type'.[45]

There is a passage in the *Introductory Lectures* in which Freud discusses what possibilities of prophylaxis can be held out to educationists. He comes to the conclusion that even rigid protection of childhood (in itself a very difficult thing) is probably powerless against the constitutional factor, but that it would also be dangerous if such protection succeeded too well in attaining its aim. This statement was fully confirmed in the case of little Fritz. The child had from his earliest days had a careful training by persons who understood something of analytical theory, but this did not prevent inhibitions and neurotic character-traits from arising. On the other hand, his analysis showed me that the very fixations which had led to the inhibitions might form the basis of splendid capacities.

On the one hand, then, we must not rate too highly the importance of so-called analytical up-bringing, though we must do everything in our power to avoid mental injury to the child. On the other hand, the argument of this paper shows the necessity of analysis in early childhood as a help to all education. We cannot alter the factors which lead to the development of sublimation or of inhibition and neurosis, but infant-analysis makes it possible for us, at a time when this development is still going on, to influence its direction in a fundamental manner.

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[45] Freud: 'The most prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV.

I have tried to show that the libidinal fixations determine the genesis of neurosis and also of sublimation and that for some time the two follow the same path. It is the force of repression which determines whether this path will lead to sublimation or turn aside to neurosis. It is at this point that infant-analysis has possibilities, for it can to a great extent substitute sublimation for repression and thus divert the path to neurosis into that which leads to the development of talents.

THE WILL TO RECOVERY[1]

BY

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The question why the neurotic patient has the desire to get well and comes for treatment is not so paradoxical as it appears at a superficial glance. We know that neurosis is an indication of unsuccessful repression, which gives rise to symptoms, and in his symptoms every patient tries to attain pleasure in some disguised form, if it be only symbolically. So it is not obvious why the neurotic, in spite of all the resistances of the ego, should forthwith renounce this pleasure.

It would be possible to answer the question by saying that it is the suffering accompanying illness (that is, ' pain ') which of itself rouses the endeavour to get well. But when we reflect that suffering in and by itself may be a source of pleasure we shall attach less importance to the pain of illness as the sole motive in the desire to get well. And if, further, we consider that the ego is passive and simply carries out the will of the id and the super-ego, we are bound to look carefully for unconscious motives of the will to health.

We can never calculate the probable duration and success of analytic treatment from the conscious wish to get well. Every psycho-analyst knows that the neurotics who are so impatient that they can hardly wait for the beginning of the treatment are not the easiest to treat. But it is amazing how obstinately these very patients cling to analysis, in spite of the enormous resistances which they oppose to the treatment from the very beginning. We might perhaps account for this phenomenon by the transference. But these patients generally begin the treatment with a negative transference, which surely would be likely to alienate them from the physician rather than attach them to him. Moreover, some patients have not even had time at the beginning to form a transference at all ; for quite a long while they adopt a waiting attitude, that of tranquil observation—and yet they go on with the treatment.

How then are we to explain the contradiction that, in spite of the constantly operative repression, the patient readily understands the

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[1] Paper read before the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society, March 26, 1924.

initial principles of psycho-analytic treatment and often in the very first hour confides the most intimate matters in his life to the physician, who is a total stranger ?

At this point I should like to draw attention to a phenomenon of a general character. We take it as a matter of course that neurotics bring resistances to psycho-analytic treatment. But we forget that the majority of these patients like going to physicians, visit one after another, pour out to each the lamentable history of their sufferings and, further, can immediately give a reason for their illness, generally some frightful event which has befallen them. I remember an obsessional neurotic who, though he knew nothing about psycho-analysis, came for the first time with a written history of his illness, which showed so much insight that during all the rest of the treatment it needed only to be enlarged and completed. We know, too, that many patients produce the most valuable material in the very first sittings and that, if we do not let ourselves be confused by the resistances which arise during the analysis but keep hold of the first communications, we arrive most quickly at our goal. Sometimes, too, it happens that a patient who at first cannot make up his mind to analysis keeps on coming back, sometimes for years, and is obviously trying to communicate the history of his illness bit by bit unobserved. Such patients give the impression of being under a compulsion which drives them to a physician again and again, and when we consider also the multitude of people who do not believe themselves to be ill but constantly force themselves upon the analyst, quite obviously with the intention of confiding to him intimate matters in their lives, our impression that there is a compulsion to *self-revelation* is only confirmed, apart from the fact of its being borne out by innumerable parapraxes. Indeed, we need no further proof of this than the existence of the practice of confession in the Catholic Church.[2]

Since the tendency to self-revelation leads in extreme instances to the exposure of various strata of the unconscious it coincides in a certain sense with another tendency, which makes its appearance in symptoms—I mean that of abrogating repression[3]—the two tendencies

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[2] One of the motives of the tendency to self-revelation is easy to recognize : not only confession but the behaviour of many patients in analysis shows that self-revelation relieves the sense of guilt up to a certain point.

[3] The tendency towards abrogation of the repression is theoretically

meet one another half-way and reinforce each other. If, in addition, they combine with the subject's desire to get rid of his illness they impel him to have recourse to treatment, as we shall presently see. So it is not at all surprising if we discover in the analysis that the conscious desire to get well is made up of unconscious motives. For if we do not rely on the patient's conscious statements we shall soon see that there is always a 'misunderstanding': the physician and patient are speaking at cross-purposes, for by mental 'health'[4] the two mean totally different things.

The first time I was most clearly conscious of this speaking at cross-purposes was when I had a schizophrenic patient under observation. The academic view is that in the psychoses (paranoia, schizophrenia, melancholia, etc.) the subject has no insight into his illness. To my very great surprise, however, I have noticed that these patients (especially schizophrenics) at times display a marked striving towards recovery and therefore no doubt have a sense of being ill. I had not to wait long for the analytical explanation of the will to health in these patients. It soon became clear that their wish to get well was overdetermined and arose out of several motives which, however, in the deepest stratum of the unconscious were merged in one single motive.

On the surface was generally a desire to overcome the sensations of weakness and distress which originated in previous feelings of hypochondriac anxiety. At a deeper level this desire went back to infantile tendencies belonging to the period in childhood when the child feels an impulsion to busy occupation and has delusions of its own grandeur—the period of omnipotence and magic. The desire culminated in the *single* endeavour to return into the womb and be re-born *from oneself*.[5]

Although I do not agree with Rank's view that intra-uterine and rebirth-phantasies play the same part in *all* neuroses, nevertheless I

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explained by the fact that all unconscious impulses have a progressive tendency, which manifests itself in the endeavour to get control of the system Cs and of motility.

[4] I do not wish here to enter into a discussion of the concept 'health.' We shall see that in some circumstances 'health' also is to be construed as a 'reaction' or 'symptom.'

[5] Cf. Nunberg: 'Über den Katatonischen Anfall.' 'Über den Verlauf des Libidokonfliktes in einem Falle von Schizophrenie.' *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. VI and VII, 1920–21.

think that the desire for recovery does always originate in the instinctual life of early infancy. At the same time there is invariably a misunderstanding in those who undergo analysis, not excluding those who are analysed in order to learn the technique; the analysand expects from psycho-analysis something other than it can give.

Perhaps the best illustration of the fact that physician and patient mean two different things by 'cure' is a case communicated by Ferenczi to the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. Here the patient's object was to have his nose cured by psycho-analysis, while he was really suffering from an affection of the penis.

I had experience of a similar case some years ago. A patient imagined that there was something wrong with her teeth, although they were perfectly sound. At the bottom of this symptom was a marked unconscious cannibalistic tendency and a powerful castration-complex. She was quite right in seeking to be cured by mental therapy, but she was not clear about the motives which impelled her to undergo it. Her conscious wish was: 'I want to have sound teeth', but the content of the unconscious wish was: 'I want to have a penis'. It was the physician's task to bring the unconscious into her consciousness.

The motives which impel neurotics towards recovery are as manifold as the motives of their illness itself. Of course, first and foremost, the perfectly conscious disagreeableness of the illness may send the patient to the physician; the clearest instance of this is in neurotic anxiety. But when we recollect that neurotic anxiety is a manifestation of a disturbance of libido and that at the beginning of the treatment the patient generally loses his anxiety for a time owing to the binding of the libido in the transference [6] to the physician, the typical representative of the parent-imagos, the helper of humanity who is endowed with every mysterious quality, the instinctual element becomes unmistakable.

All kinds of psychical impotence show in a perhaps still more striking way that the wish to get well is actuated by unconscious motives. For instance, we have the case of a man of thirty-four, who fell in love with a married woman, the mother of six children and the wife of a friend of his. With her he was impotent and at the same time became so with other women. He came to analysis with the desire to become potent with this particular woman; he did not mind about any other. He wanted to separate her from her husband, whose death

[6] Later he gets rid of the symptom through analysis.

he desired, and he had dealings with fortune-tellers who, to please him, naturally prophesied the fulfilment of his wishes. The patient, a cultivated and in other respects an intelligent man, could not perceive the folly of the situation and expected from the treatment the realization of his infantile wishes. Thus his unconscious endeavour was to remain infantile, but it was the duty of the physician to free him from his infantile fixations.

As a rule impotent men expect from the treatment not average, normal potency, but (and in this I confirm what Rank has observed) [7] nearly always hyperpotency. Not infrequently it happens during analysis that when part of the castration-complex has been overcome these patients suddenly develop hyperpotency. This pleases them, and they are proud of their genital capacity and that they can satisfy their women. At the same time they enjoy a narcissistic satisfaction through identification with the genital, which has now become efficient. Though they themselves remain sexually (genitally) unsatisfied, they regard themselves as well and wish to break off the treatment. After a short time the old condition reasserts itself, and then the second part of the treatment begins.

Perhaps a few short examples will show what ideas patients have about the health which they believe to be worth striving after and what is the ego-ideal which hovers before them when they think of it.

One patient had the feeling that he was turned back to front and upside down, as if he were made up of two people. He thought that one of these people looked forwards and the other backwards. He was afraid to walk in the street, for he thought that his toes peeped out of his heels, and so he was afraid of tripping over his own feet. When he spoke he always had to take hold of the top of his head to convince himself where his head and his face were and so forth. He pictured that, if he were cured, the man in him who looked forwards would disappear. This symptom was overdetermined; its deepest significance was an identification with the mother, who was embodied in him in the person looking backwards. He therefore expected of the treatment that it would enable him to be completely absorbed in the mother and change him into an avowed homosexual, his former attitude representing inversion under a disguise.

A girl of seventeen and a half, an obsessional neurotic who suffered

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[7] 'Zum Verständnis der Libidoentwicklung im Heilungsvorgang.' *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, 1923.

from brooding mania, was exceedingly refractory and imagined that she was oppressed by her parents and all other grown-up people. She imagined that when the cure was completed she would know everything, be able to solve all problems, to produce anything from any material whatsoever and no longer be oppressed by grown-ups but always carry out her own will without being influenced by anyone. At the beginning of the treatment she could of course not be convinced that her hopes could not be fulfilled. She wanted to remain as she was, only without suffering.

The following case is an instance of how deeply the conscious desire to get well may be intermingled with unconscious impulses tending in exactly the opposite direction. An impotent patient was violently eager to begin analysis, for he was afraid that his wife would leave him if he did not soon get well, and without her, he said, he could not live. Naturally he brought to the treatment enormous resistances. Even at the first consultation he asked me if it would not be better for him at once to leave his wife for a time, but I insisted that, for the present, everything must remain as it was. Nevertheless, at the next sittings he constantly recurred to this question, and phantasies came to light in which he wished not to leave his wife temporarily but to separate from her for good. After we had found out that his present total impotence represented undischarged feelings of revenge in reaction to a certain experience, dreams and phantasies emerged in which he left his wife and went back home to his mother. Thus his conscious wish to become potent ran counter to an unconscious desire to return to his mother, who apparently stood to him for ' health '.

The two following dreams will perhaps show how deeply rooted such desires to get well are in early infantile tendencies and how they seek in them their fulfilment.

A girl, whose illness caused her much suffering, dreamt that she was at her home in the house where she had first lived as a child and that she was with some companions of her own age, whom she had known at about the time of puberty. She told me that it was they who first enlightened her on sexual matters, and especially one of these girls, who had more freedom than the others because her parents were dead. This led to an infantile recollection of her third or fourth year when she was seduced by a nurse. This dream was the translation of a thought which the patient, who was feeling particularly ill at the time, had uttered aloud before going to sleep : ' How happy I should be if I could be a child again '.

Still more instructive is the dream of another patient. This was a woman who came for treatment on account of frigidity. At the second sitting she produced a transference-dream as follows. She was with me and I had many women-patients who made love to me. I chose her, however, and kissed her on the lips, but I was younger and better-looking in the dream than in reality. Then she was on a big ship which had to pass from a large expanse of water into a little stream, and it depended on the steersman up above whether the ship would get through the narrow passage without stranding on the rocky shore which projected into the water. As she was getting out she saw a beautiful palace and an old woman with a basket.

In the very first hour she told me that her frigidity caused her no distress but that she came for treatment for another reason. After she and her husband were divorced she had ' used up ' several men in a comparatively short time and she was afraid that, if it went on, in a few years she would end on the streets. In order to save herself from this fate she came for analysis. Thus her reasons were moral ones, and she hoped that, when the cure was finished, she would be a different person.

On the day before the dream she was with some people who knew something about psycho-analysis. Some one remarked that in psycho-analytic treatment two things had to be done : first, the transference had to be established and, secondly, it had to be resolved, and that this was the more difficult task. She replied jokingly that she would manage, for she would marry the physician at the end of the treatment.

The fact that in the dream I chose her from amongst many other women was founded on a peculiar circumstance. In real life she always had the unfortunate experience that any man whom she loved turned away from her and attached himself to one of her friends. This was what had happened with the husband whom she had divorced. She was the youngest but one in a family of several children and had always had the impression that her mother loved her the least and that she was the Cinderella of the family. When in later years she found out that her mother had not suckled her, but that she was a ' bottle-baby,' she could scarcely contain herself.

The kiss on the lips corresponded to a recollection. As a young girl, the first time she was kissed by a man she hastened to her mother and asked her if a girl could have a child because a man had kissed her. At the next day's analysis she produced a second, much more important, memory. Her favourite game as a child was to play at ' mother and

daughter ' with her youngest sister. The patient acted the daughter and the sister the mother. The game consisted in the patient's lying on a sofa, shutting her eyes and pretending to be asleep. After a time the younger sister (' the mother ') came and waked the ' daughter ' (the patient) with a kiss on her lips. (Compare the situation on the sofa in analysis !)

Thus the patient's infantile phantasies were used to represent her wish to be preferred by me to other women (children), to be made pregnant and wake to a new life. The same wish is even more clearly expressed in the second part of the dream (*water*). This part again begins with an Œdipus-dream, passing by association into a memory of a childish game with a brother. But it ends with a symbolical birth-dream (old woman—basket—water—palace). By association the old woman represents at once a midwife and the mother. The child in the basket is identified with the dreamer. Unfortunately, motives of discretion prevent my communicating the rest of the material.

This dream may be regarded as programmatic of the treatment. The conscious wish to become a new person through psycho-analysis and to marry the physician is in the unconscious represented as a return into the mother's body and rebirth. The heterosexual object-choice is merely superficial. The dream begins with incest but ends in a deeper stratum of the mind with union with the mother. But the whole meaning of the intra-uterine and birth-phantasies can be grasped only when we know the unconscious meaning of the childish games. The conscious wish to get well stirs up an unconscious phantasy and leads to an infantile situation of gratification. Consciously the patient wished to lose her frigidity with men but, unconsciously, to retain it.

This case also throws a certain light on the relation between the will to health and the transference. We shall see this more clearly in the next case.

A woman came for treatment on account of hysterical hypochondriacal symptoms. At the third sitting I first of all called forth resistances by a clumsily worded question as to why she came for treatment. She looked at me in amazement and answered in an offended manner that naturally she came for me to cure her. After a fortnight, however, I found out something different. A friend of hers, whom I was treating, was at that time suffering very much owing to a violent transference and had confided to the patient the story of her unreciprocated love for me. The latter, however, was indignant at my having rebuffed her friend, whom she taunted with not having been

able to win me, adding that that would never happen to her—if she wanted she could in any circumstances cause her love to be reciprocated. Although she had already determined to go for treatment, she was always hesitating, and only her indignation against me and the desire to show her friend how these things could be managed better hastened her decision to begin the treatment. At this point we soon discovered that she distrusted all other women and suspected that they felt nothing but envy and jealousy. She was very strongly fixated to her father ; till his death, which took place when she was eleven years old, she slept in his bed and had completely ousted her mother. She blamed the latter for his death and was reconciled to her only after her own marriage. In analysis, from the very first day, she formed a transference of as passionate and uncomfortable a kind as had her friend, whom she had so vehemently upbraided on that account.

Thus the wish to get well, which is fed from the unconscious, makes use of the transference in order in this way to attain in the present the infantile instinctual aims. Hence the transference is mobilized by the wish to get well and replaces it to a greater or less degree during the treatment. This is, of course, according to the circumstances important for the duration and success of the treatment. In this patient it failed, because the desire to get well gave place *altogether* to the transference.

We can understand, therefore, that the treatment encounters insuperable difficulties in cases where either the will to recovery is altogether lacking from the outset, or where the conscious wish to get well and the unconscious tendencies cannot be brought into line, and finally in every case in which the will to health is wholly replaced (in very passive natures) by the transference. I can illustrate this by two cases. In the first a homosexual broke off the analysis when it became plain that what he expected from the treatment was to get back a lover whom he had lost. Another patient, who was abused, tormented and humiliated by his wife and yet could not leave her, wished that the analysis, which he underwent *submissively*, should bring him to the point of resolving to get a separation. When, however, it was revealed that he was excessively passive and had strong phantasies of being beaten and bound, he ceased to come for treatment. Unconsciously he did not in the least desire to be free from his wife. He was driven to the analysis by a mistress with whom he was impotent. Consciously he wished to become normal, but unconsciously he desired to remain a masochist.

That when the will to recover is present, it may in itself lead to

recovery even without transference is proved not only by many cases of spontaneous cure in schizophrenia, melancholia, etc., but above all by those neurotics who get well without any medical help at all. Since these patients, like others who are never treated psychically, are not easily accessible to observation, it is difficult to form any ideas about their motives for recovering.

The actual motives for recovery are most clearly seen in spontaneous cure of schizophrenia, especially in cases of hypochondria with anxiety. This results from the damming-up of the libido in the cathexis of certain organs, which, as is only to be expected, causes a disturbance in the self-regard. The accompanying 'pain' prompts a real endeavour to overcome this disturbance, an endeavour which not only fuses with the unconscious tendencies towards 'recovery,' which I have already discussed, but actually soon gives place to them altogether. But, regarded from the angle of regression, this is equivalent to a narcissistic tendency to re-establish the untroubled infantile ideal-ego, and many patients behave as if they desired to realize this tendency, while others say straight out that they want to regain their ego-ideal which seems to them to have been lost.

We can observe a similar state of affairs in conditions of depersonalization. One patient had suffered for some years from various obsessive thoughts, phobias and conversion-symptoms. She would not, however, have come for treatment if she had not suffered greatly from another symptom as well. Part of this symptom was as follows: in social gatherings she was tormented by the obsessive idea that she must ask her companions to take off all their clothes. Nevertheless, she always controlled herself, but it made her feel as if she had suddenly changed, her voice sounded to herself as if it came from a distance, and it, as well as her thoughts and her body, seemed strange to her. She said this was a dreadful feeling, and she implored me above everything to free her from this symptom.

As long as she could remember, she had been greatly troubled by ill-repressed scoptophilia and exhibitionism. Although quite early in life it had been sternly forbidden her, she always managed to follow out her instinct in some form or other. This explains why it was strongest just when she was in company. At an earlier period she escaped these obsessive ideas by hysterical fainting-attacks; now she was trying indeed to control herself consciously, but the result was the feeling of strangeness, and it was this which brought her to the physician.

Thus it was just the disturbance in her self-regard which prompted the endeavour to free herself from it—in other words, which actuated the desire to recover. We find a similar relation in schizophrenic hypochondria, but with this difference—that in the latter the disturbance of the self-regard is caused by a damming-up of libido in the cathexis of bodily organs, while in depersonalization it is due to a momentary withdrawal of heightened libido involving a break in the transmission of perceptions between the ego-ideal and the feelings and sensations of the ego.[8] The common element in the two cases is that the disturbance of the self-regard causes the wish to get well.

We encounter other similar disturbances of the self-regard in the other neuroses, perhaps most strikingly in impotence. There are men who have never been potent and did not know it, because they have never put it to the test. Only when coitus is forced upon them do they become aware of their impotence. The realization causes a tremendous shattering of the self-regard, generally owing to the stirring-up of the hitherto latent castration-complex. They rush frantically to a physician to implore his help, but, as I have already said, what they hope to gain from him is not normal potency but hyperpotency and the restoration of some infantile situation.

The same thing is true of hysteria and obsessional neurosis. Thus we saw that the frigid patient was actuated by moral scruples in endeavouring to alter her condition, the girl suffering from obsessional neurosis by her sense of omnipotence disappointed in reality, and the other patients directly by ' pain,' caused by the frustration of object-libido and of infantile desires and impulses. The common factor in all these cases was that the endeavour to get rid of the disturbance to the self-regard roused the desire to restore an infantile situation (that of the untroubled ideal-ego).

Writing about the feeling of self-regard, Freud[9] sums up the matter thus: ' Part of the self-regard is primary—the residue of childish narcissism; another part arises out of such omnipotence as experience corroborates (the fulfilment of the ego-ideal), whilst a third part proceeds from gratification of object-libido '.

Thus it is the blow to the ego-ideal which rouses the desire to get

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[8] Cf. Nunberg: 'Über Depersonalisationszustände im Lichte der Libidotheorie.' *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. X, 1924.

[9] Freud, ' On Narcissism: an Introduction,' *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 58.

well, but the wish seeks its fulfilment in an infantile ideal condition. In other words, the ego-ideal instigates the wish to get well (and the will to recover), but the necessary energy is drawn from the reservoir of the unconscious instinctual life.

This partly explains why the treatment makes no progress so long as the patient feels well. Only when the analysis goes deeper and the transference desires are frustrated, so that the self-regard is once more shattered (an experience comparable to the first actual disturbing experience), does progress begin again.

The desire to get well does not arise if in the symptoms the actual ' pain ' is either wholly balanced by the attainment of a corresponding degree of primary pleasure (' paranosic gain '), as, for instance, in cases of masochism, or where it is over-compensated—for example, in the megalomania of paranoia. In all these cases the treatment, if it does not actually fail, is made very much more difficult. Thus a patient cannot be treated at all against his own will.

If, then, the will to health subserves regressive tendencies, we should expect that the patient would become more and more ill. But, as a matter of fact, patients who are driven to the physician by this very will to health are often cured. How are we to explain this contradiction? Here I must once more cite the instance of schizophrenia. Sometimes the intervals of improvement in schizophrenia are so considerable that the patient is for practical purposes held to be cured. I think that the process of cure follows a typical course.

In a case an account of which I published,[10] where some sort of transference was established, the process was as follows. The patient regressed to the intra-uterine situation, was symbolically reborn, recapitulated in epitome the different stages of libido- and ego-development, and, at a certain point in this ' re-evolution,' came to a standstill. Thereupon a remarkable thing happened. Up till then he had been dominated by a delusion that I was using ' suggestion ' and ' hypnotism ' upon him, and that I was persecuting him and intended to do him every possible harm. When he had accomplished the process of re-evolution which I have briefly sketched and had become reconciled to the father, he identified me with the latter and *demanded* that I should hypnotize him, in order to hasten his recovery. His former persecutor became a father who would help him and a physician who

[10] ' Über den Libidokonflikt eines Falles von Schizophrenie.' *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. VII.

would cure him. The excessive homosexual libido which had formerly been restrained and had borne a negative sign, so that he had to project it, now bore a positive sign and became the vehicle of the will to get well.

The only question is : What was the mechanism of this transformation ? As I tried to show in the paper referred to, the ego-ideal of the patient had undergone an alteration. Having come to a standstill at a certain point in his re-evolution, he renounced part of his infantile narcissistic ego-ideal and with it his belief in his omnipotence and magical powers, which he now transferred to the father. This was why he wanted me to hypnotize him. Progress was manifest in his endeavour to recognize forces existing outside the ego and to adapt himself to the object-world. Only when the ego-ideal had undergone a change such as Rank [11] noted in neurotics was it possible for the direction of the libido to be reversed. The adaptation to the outside world and the correction of infantile tendencies and wishes are to be regarded as a consequence of this reversal.[12]

There is probably still much to be cleared up as regards this transformation of a grave and typical morbid symptom into another ' symptom ' which assists recovery and terminates in cure. At the same time it seems to me a particularly important fact that the same libidinal energy can at one time lead to illness and at another, when changes have taken place in the ego, become the driving force of the desire to get well. *It looks as if the illness contained in itself a germ of recovery*, just as in some organic illnesses toxins generate antitoxins.

In neurotics these relations are not always so transparent as in this case of schizophrenia, but they are often fairly clear and in principle they are the same. To enter here more closely into this very complicated problem would take us too far, so I shall merely sum up shortly what I have already said. The ' pain ' accompanying the current disturbance in the ego produces a desire to get rid of this disturbance and generates the will to recover. This in its turn mobilizes a tendency to re-establish a pleasurable infantile situation, which coincides with the primary intention of the illness. Hence the subject's aim in being well corresponds to the motives of the illness. The fusion of the two

[11] ' Zum Verständnis der Libidoentwicklung im Heilungsvorgang.' Loc. cit.

[12] The process of cure here depicted must not be confounded with the ' effort towards recovery ' (*Heilungsversuch*) mentioned by Freud, *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 43.

tendencies provides the necessary motive for undergoing treatment. Not till then does the psycho-analytical cure begin: it is a process which seems to fulfil the conscious tendency to get well and does actually, in the transference, fulfil the unconscious tendency to restore an infantile libido-position. It seems therefore to satisfy both conditions, and this is why during a certain period of the analysis the transference takes the place of the wish to get well. But it is an essential part of the treatment that this wish in its turn should be freed from the unconscious elements mixed with it.

It would seem obvious to try to fuse the desire to get well and the transference, but this cannot be done. Although during the treatment the two do blend, and sometimes the desire to get well actually gives place altogether to the transference, at the beginning and end of the analysis there is a sharp demarcation between them. The desire to get well which, like every other symptom, should be considered in its psycho-analytical significance,[13] impels the patient to undergo treatment; the transference is merely the means used in order, in favourable cases, to help the conscious wish for recovery to gain the victory. It is in this sense, I think, that we should understand Freud's answer to the question: 'What are the instinctual propelling forces with which we work in the cure?' He says that above all we have 'the patient's desire for recovery which impelled him to submit himself to the work in co-operation with us'.[14]

Thus the wish to get well is essentially the antithesis of cure in the sense of an adaptation to reality, for the aim of the desire is to restore an infantile libido-position in order to set up again the narcissistic untroubled ideal-ego. Yet this desire is indispensable for the success of the treatment, being, as it is, rooted in the unconscious, in those very impulses which formerly, when unsuccessfully repressed, led to the illness. Now, however, under the guidance of psycho-analysis they lead from illness to recovery. Just as the illness broke out as a result of a disturbance in the libidinal processes, so now that same libido leads by way of a properly handled transference to recovery, after the ego has undergone certain changes. Thus, as has so often been pointed out, the psycho-analyst does not import anything new into the patient's mental life; all that he does by his intervention is

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[13] Ferenczi and Rank, in their paper *Entwickungsziele der Psychoanalyse*, also require that this desire should be analysed.

[14] *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, p. 365.

to transform certain forces which have already made their appearance simultaneously with the outbreak of the illness.

This implies, however, that psycho-analysis is the only appropriate method of treatment in psychogenic diseases: it meets the patient halfway in his attempt to get well and the forces which it employs in order to heal him are purely natural ones. The patients themselves are the first to realize this, for, as I said at the beginning of this paper, is there any neurotic who does not like speaking of his suffering and dwelling on his past, or who does not probe into what he supposes to be the causes of his illness, and so forth? I have found that patients, who had not the vaguest idea of psycho-analysis, in the very first sittings traced their illness back to some experience in very early childhood, and that later this turned out to be correct. At the present time I am treating a man whose illness began with a repulsive recollection about his mother and from that developed in such a way that he was obsessed by memories of his earliest childhood, which were accompanied with anxiety and horror. He called the beginning of his illness 'auto-analysis.' Yet at one period of the treatment the recollections refused more and more obstinately to come. Even though in other cases too the resistances tend to increase during analysis, this is in the very nature of the method of treatment; I do not propose in this paper to go more in detail into the difficulties of the method.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

COINCIDENT PHANTASIES IN MOTHER AND SON

A young man, a patient of mine, had been aware from childhood that his mother had intimate relations with another man besides her husband; and he wove around this fact regular phantasies of the Hamlet type, in which his mother and her friend murdered his father. I analysed these day-dreams which he had had for years, and they left him as soon as he realized that his own repressed wish was to put away his father with his mother's help. One day, after we had analysed his hostile phantasies against his father fairly extensively, he told me a curious thing that had happened. At dinner, where the whole family was assembled, his mother had said that she had had a queer dream the night before. She had dreamed that a strange man had laughed at her and had made contemptuous remarks about her character and capacities. Then she had turned him out with the help of her friend, Herr X.

My patient went on to say that he had listened attentively to what his mother was saying, and had at once understood that the strange man could only be his father, and that his mother and her friend had 'turned him out', that is, done away with him. He inferred from this, quite correctly, that in her phantasy his mother was contemplating the same crime as he had formerly done in his. The coincidence of the two phantasies was even more exact. For the patient had often reproached his father in imagination for not being able to appreciate his wife's good qualities. And now she herself had used the same argument to justify the removal of her husband.

The example given shows to what an extent the day-dreams of one person can coincide with the phantasies of another.

Karl Abraham (Berlin).

EPISTAXIS IN A MAN SIMULATING MENSTRUATION

The patient, a young man who had been under analytic treatment for nearly a year, entered my consulting-room dabbing his nose, which I saw was bleeding, there being many spots of blood on his handkerchief. I asked him when his nose had commenced to bleed and he said just as he reached my street door. He told me that it had before bled very

occasionally, and then only a few drops which ceased if he lay down. It had never bled so profusely before. He lay down on the couch saying he expected it would now stop, as he was on his back. He then commenced talking about a dream he had had the previous night. All the time he was talking he kept dabbing his nose, and his handkerchief became fairly saturated with blood. After this had been going on for about twenty minutes, I thought something should be done regarding the epistaxis, as it did not seem to be stopping, so I particularly directed his attention to the bleeding. He remarked that the peculiar thing about it was that it had commenced just as he reached my door, and he thought that this must signify that it had a psychological explanation, for he knew of nothing that could have caused the condition.

I asked him to give me his first thought with regard to this bleeding. He said, ' To prevent me talking '. He then added it reminded him of menstruation and castration. I asked him to give his thoughts about menstruation. He said, ' Menstruation is a particular characteristic of women. If the nose-bleeding represents menstruation, then I am a woman. Menstruation also means a person is not pregnant, therefore I am not pregnant '. The bleeding still continued. I then asked him if any other idea occurred to him with regard to menstruation. He said nothing else came to his mind. I suggested that menstruation might be a defence. He said he did not understand, paused, then said, ' If a woman were menstruating she would not have sexual intercourse, therefore menstruation would be a defence or protection against sexual intercourse '. He again paused. Then suddenly he remarked, ' My nose has stopped bleeding '. He added, ' Directly you mentioned the word " defence " I felt the bleeding stop. I knew by the feeling in my nose that it was suddenly checked '. I might add that up to the time I mentioned ' defence ' he had been dabbing his nose every four or five seconds, blood appearing on the handkerchief at each application. After the word ' defence ', however, he did not again put his handkerchief to his nose. Ten minutes later he used his handkerchief, but no blood appeared.

He was very much astonished at this happening, but quite recognized that he had produced the epistaxis in order to simulate menstruation, which would prevent my having sexual intercourse with him.

The reason for this defence appeared a few minutes later. After the bleeding had stopped and he had expressed his surprise, he became quite silent for about four minutes. I asked him of what he was

thinking. He said, ' My thoughts have strayed far away to quite a different subject '. He said he had been going over in his mind thoughts that had been occupying him most of the day. They were to the effect that I should be angry and annoyed with him for having missed coming to three sittings during the week, and thereby seriously inconveniencing me. I must add here that his missing the sittings was entirely due to external circumstances connected with his business. He further said that he was almost afraid to come, adding, ' It was just as if you were my father '. I asked him of what he was afraid. He said, ' I was afraid that you would bugger me '. Here then is the solution : in order to prevent my having sexual intercourse with him of the type his father carried out, i.e. sadistic, he menstruated. Some time previously he had remarked, ' When my father is angry with me I feel that I get his penis '. He can only endure gentle sexual intercourse, i.e. analysis, as between him and me (his mother). He had previously brought out very fully the infantile idea of the sadistic conception of sexual intercourse.

Douglas Bryan (London).

ABSTRACTS

Childhood

Barbara Low. The Cinema in Education: Some Psychological Considerations. *Contemporary Review*, November, 1925.

In this article the writer expresses the hope that it may be useful merely ' to adumbrate the problem ', but she accomplishes within the limited space at her disposal a valuable analysis of the influences that the cinema may have upon the mind and personality of the child. The references to, and quotations from, the reports of educational bodies show both useful and detrimental results of the cinema in education. Miss Low in this article analyses the ' why ' of these results, and educationalists will be glad to have more light thrown on their own problems through the only method that penetrates deeper than consciousness.

The article develops along the following lines: The cinema is one of the most powerful influences of modern society. Reference is made to St. John Ervine, who declared some time ago that a new type of mentality had come into being, which he called the ' Movie Mind '.

The type of mentality that is evolving must be of first-rate importance to the educator. That this importance is recognized is evidenced in the reports issued by different bodies upon the use of the cinema in education. Some conclusions made by them are arguable, certain fundamental aspects of the question at issue are untouched.

There is a two-fold aspect of the cinema as an educational force—(*a*) as an instrument for achieving definite results such as the vivid representation of facts and ideas, (*b*) as a method by which the human mind can be affected and directed. The first aspect is mainly dealt with in the various educational reports, i.e. with the questions of concrete results relating to the *content* of the child's mind.

Miss Low proceeds to deal with the problem ' exactly how and in what respects can the cinema influence the mind and personality of the child '.

Modern communities demand easy, quick methods of entertainment characterized by sensationalism and a drugging effect. The demand for the cinema is a symptom of the prevalent attitude, an expression in a projected form of an inner fear and sense of inadequacy. It is also a gratification of the unconscious wishes which cause the demand.

The cinema gratifies the omnipotent wish achieved by magic, and this not because of the theme of the film but by the film *method*. It represents questions and problems solved, it simplifies and selects, whereas life is non-selective and complex. The spectator is only required to be passively attentive, gaining his gratification with the least expenditure of effort.

Even where films are true to reality Miss Low contends that the

mechanism is the same, the element of magic being present in the simplification and rapid solution of problems.

In films of natural history, geography and mechanical processes, distorted ideas are conveyed, especially in *time* conceptions.

Miss Low concedes that such criticism applies in a measure to varying forms of art, but in all other forms than the cinema the mind of the artist works with a non-mechanistic medium, which has specific limitations, and demands are made upon the spectator.

An aspect of the cinema bound up with some of the deepest developmental impulses is its relation to time. The cinema fosters illusion of timelessness by the swiftest of happenings, the lack of elaboration, lack of opportunity to show slow development and growth. The cinema falsifies values. The children's sense of proportion and value is retarded. Constant variety in presentation tends to the creation of a mentality characterized by an inability to concentrate. The gratification of curiosity on its infantile level is likely to be maintained through the demand of an almost exclusively visual attention.

Ella F. Sharpe.

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Mary Chadwick. The Psychological Problem of the Foster Child. *The Child*, May, 1925.

This brief examination of the problem of the foster child from the psychological point of view seeks to show how the absence of individual affection and demonstrations of tenderness may affect in several serious ways children brought up out of their own homes and in institutions. In the institution the personal element is thrust into the background, partly owing to the large numbers of children who have to be dealt with, and partly to the comparatively small circle of those who are responsible for their care; a factor of still greater importance is the total lack of appreciation of the necessity for affection for the mental health of the young child. During the past few years a great deal of attention has been accorded the question of institutional dietary. It has been recognized that too much monotony in food even of the most nourishing kinds will fail to produce the wished-for effect. But it is doubtful whether those in charge of the government of State or charitable institutions are yet fully awake to the fact that the monotonous routine of institutional life may create as dire results in those who are condemned to endure it for several years, when youth is naturally yearning for change and new experiences. It will inevitably stunt the intellectual development of the boys and girls who are brought up under its rule, and may cause the following deleterious effects. For instance, it is only too probable that a dull and monotonous existence will foster a too frequent recourse to the habit of phantasy-making in order to furnish the change and excitement necessary to make life endurable under such conditions, or as an alternative it may lead to

the child becoming a delinquent, who will seek relief from the prevailing drabness of its surroundings and to satisfy its love of adventure by breaches of discipline and overt rebellion against the unsatisfying and unsympathetic life of the institution.

The child starved of affection and outside interest will of necessity seek compensations for these serious deprivations, and at the same time develop a conscious or unconscious grudge against those persons who, it feels, have deprived it of love and the comfort it craves, a grudge which will some day seek requital and insist upon some kind of gratification.

Author's Abstract.

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Aichhorn. Über die Erziehung in Besserungsanstalten. *Imago*, Bd. IX, Heft 2, 1923.

Cases coming under the author's observation in the Oberhollabrun institution for correction of delinquents showed wide variation between normal and psychotic types. The function of such institutions is to provide a place of refuge wherein to recover from the buffeting of external circumstances, a function which in normal circumstances would be exercised within the family circle. Compensatory sublimation is an important factor in treatment, and the author gives details of two cases showing the effect of appropriately selected occupations.

The atmosphere characteristic of older institutions of this kind is one of repressed hate, but from the outset Aichhorn's policy was to bring happiness into the lives of the inmates. Early cases, indeed, were almost ' spoiled ', but no injurious results were noted. Each individual must be convinced by experience that his pleasure-hunger can be satisfied in a socially ordered existence. Such institutions must not be run on formal lines, and in order to preserve individuality freedom from restriction must prevail. This is done by establishing independent groups in separate buildings. Fresh cases often react to friendliness and freedom with mistrust, regarding the former attitude as a sign of weakness or stupidity. Admissions are at first housed along with outgoing cases and given plenty of good simple food. No discrimination is made in the matter of food between teachers and their wards.

In reference to the matter of control, Aichhorn points out that daily conflict is most useful in getting to grips with the unconscious, and this can be stimulated artificially, the method varying in different cases, e.g. running away may be prevented in some cases and provoked in others. It is a sign that the ' outside ' is more pleasurable than the ' inside '. When the project is discovered it may be necessary to make the ' inside ' more pleasurable, but if the individual shows a tendency to vegetate within, pleasant memories of the ' outside ' may be evoked to bring about desertion. Amongst other examples the effect of giving a thief oppor-

tunities of stealing is described together with the cathartic result of a non-parental attitude to the theft.

The educator's attitude to life must be strongly positive: the feminine characteristic of empathy is called on, for otherwise the unconscious of the teacher comes to loggerheads with that of the pupil. It is essential to have positive relations between the director and his staff. An earlier attempt to divide up the institution into diagnostic groups was followed by a grouping in accordance with temperament. The organic grouping was as follows: (1) intellectually defective, (2) relatively mild socially defectives, (3) more severe types of socially defective, (4) character defectives, (5) unbalanced groups with tendencies to aggression, and (6) strongly aggressive types. In the last grouping violent hostility to parents is present, although tenderness to animals is often shown. Such patients should be allowed almost complete freedom, plenty of occupation and play, they should be encouraged to talk, and should be permitted to turn their quarters into a bear-garden without let or hindrance. No reaction should be shown to their aggression, either actual or simulated, the latter being often indulged in with the hope of provoking reprisal. This attitude induces transference to the teachers and ultimately brings transference between individuals in the group. Cure begins at this point. Two types of hate are exhibited. The first hates environment and shows it in varying degree from mild dislike to violent hatred: this is the result of unsatisfied love-demands. The second type is friendly and complaisant, but proves to be tyrannical in disposition, due to exaggerated love gratifications from the mother.

Edward Glover.

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Barbara Low. The Foundations of Mental Health. *The Medical Times*, 1925, Vol. LIII, No. 2176.

A brief sketch of the relation between the early phases of the individual dominated by ego-centric impulses and the later stages influenced by the formation of the ego-ideal and by further cultural development. 'Mental Health' is the outcome of some harmonious adjustment between these conflicting trends.

The necessity for external pressure (from parental, educational and social ideals) to adapt itself to the child's inner development is pointed out, and consequently the obligation of parents and educators to have some understanding of the child's psychic life. The difficulty in achieving such understanding is largely a matter of the adult's own repressions, making him incapable of seeing, or understanding even when he sees, the facts.

A brief reference is made to some of the important aspects of the child's early development, such as the omnipotent ego-centric stage with its oral and anal-erotic character, the formation of the ego-ideal, development of the Œdipus complex, among others.

The help or hindrance which can be contributed by the adults in closest relation to the child is then dealt with, and finally the need for an attitude of investigation rather than a clinging to preconceived ideas on the part of doctors and teachers is emphasized.

Author's Abstract.

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E. Pickworth Farrow. An Early Childhood Experience and its Effects. *The Medical Press and Circular*, April 29th, 1925.

This short paper is supposed to explain the origin of the writer's ' depressed attitude towards the world ', and at the same time to indicate how this attitude was removed.

It appears that during a self-analysis the writer came upon a memory, ' after overcoming very strong resistances ', of reaching up towards a woman's breasts when sitting on her knee at the age of about eleven or fourteen months. The woman repulsed him by hitting him ' violently ' on his arms and hands. Considering that at that time he had not reacted properly to the woman's violence, ' he went for the punching-ball standing in his study, endeavouring to imagine it might be the woman, and hit it repeatedly with very great violence—about three times harder than he had ever hit it before in punching practice '. After thus giving vent to the ' repressed emotion associated with the incident described ', he ' then had a *very* much more cheerful outlook on life than before '. The writer is evidently a great believer in the old idea of ' abreaction '.

The only thing of interest to analysts in this paper—provided the incident recorded above is a real one and not a phantasy—is the extraordinary reaction with violence of a woman towards a babe on her knee who had inadvertently stimulated her castration complex by stretching up its hands towards her breasts.

D. B.

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Kurt Koffka. Mental Development. *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, October, 1925.

The most remarkable aspect of this lecture is that it is terminated directly the chief problem is enunciated, and that it consists mainly in a statement of the situation, that the chief interest attaching to the subject of mental development is that it takes place, individually, racially, and phylogenetically. But why it should do so at all, and how it does so, on these points we gain no satisfying information. It is the *similarity* of human reactions to specified stimuli, allowing them to be arranged in groups, which offers the greatest interest to the author, rather than the *individual differences* in mental development causing various reactions to the given stimulus.

The zeal of the experimental psychologist no doubt offers extensive gratification to the innate sadism of the operator, but it seems carrying

the impulse too far, even in the service of science, to experiment upon the theme, '*the burnt child dreads the fire*', by giving an infant upon the 150th day of its life a lighted candle and allowing it to grasp at the flame, until upon the 220th day the child slapped at it instead of grasping it. No hint is given that those concerned in this test even paused to consider what traces this experiment could have left upon the child's mental development, nor the changes effected in other subsequent reactions to stimuli of a similar nature or to persons connected with it, both of which might very well be expected from traumatic experiences of such magnitude in the case of so young a child.

M. Chadwick.

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J. W. Tomb. On the Intuitive Capacity of Children to Understand Spoken Language. *The British Journal of Psychology*, 1925, Vol. XVI, Part I.

This paper, short and very slight as it is, raises a question of interest to psycho-analysts, especially to those concerned with children's training in home or school. The facility of the child to pick up foreign languages compared with the difficulty experienced by the average adult in so doing is certainly striking, as the writer says, and worthy of further investigation. He illustrates his theme from the case of European children in India, showing how children of English parents, born in India, can, at the age of three or four years, converse freely with their parents in English, with their ayahs in Bengali, with the house-servants in Hindustani, with the garden-coolies in Santali, while the parents have barely succeeded, with much effort, in learning sufficient Hindustani to give simple intelligible orders to the house-servants. A specially striking case is given of a child of four years whose Bengali ayah was taken ill and in her place was substituted for two months only a Tamil-speaking ayah: in the space of the two months the child learnt to understand and talk in Tamil, without effort, and sometimes continued to talk this language, after the nurse had departed, to the other servants who could not understand Tamil.

The writer also observes that English-born children, even if brought out to India at the age of three or four, will just as easily and quickly learn to understand and to speak all the vernaculars of their district.

He puts forward as his hypothesis that the child's capacity for learning languages must be 'of a sub-conscious nature', not a matter of intelligence and intellectual effort, since in these respects the parents are obviously far superior to the child, and yet they fall far short of the child's achievements: the child can intuitively place the correct meaning into the spoken sounds, which capacity he loses almost altogether with his approach to adult life. The writer concludes: 'On no other hypothesis can the facts related above be intelligibly explained'.

Needless to say, we have here no 'explanation' of the interesting pheno-

menon dealt with, for the fundamental situation—the wish which determines the speech-power—is not touched upon, nor, consequently, the unconscious motivations and inhibitions which create the differences in the reaction of adult and child to new experience.

Barbara Low.

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John B. Watson. Experimental Studies on the Growth of the Emotions. What the Nursery has to say about Instincts. *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1925, Vol. XXXII, No. 2.

This paper, by a well-known behaviourist, is worth drawing attention to on account of the interesting and full material it presents concerning the behaviour of infants during the first thirty days of life. The observations were made on several hundreds of infants, with a view to discovering their ' unlearned response ', as the author calls them (refusing to admit the term instinct or instinctive) at this stage of development. This ' Birth-Equipment ' comprises sneezing, hiccoughing, crying, penis-erection, voiding of urine, defæcation, smiling, manual response (head, arm, hand, leg movements), feeding response, vocal behaviour.

The writer seeks to show that practically all these activities are, or certainly can be, brought about by suitable stimuli, and therefore he calls them ' conditioned ', and, as they develop further, the outcome of ' training '. The experiments made were often original (e.g. introducing various animals to an infant three weeks old and observing the child's fear-reactions), and very careful records have been made.

No knowledge of psycho-analytical principles is shown in the deductions made by the writer.

Barbara Low.

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Helen T. Woolley. Agnes, a Dominant Personality. *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, October, 1925.

This is an exceedingly interesting contribution, in spite of its shortcomings, but largely from a point of view other than that intended by the author, in that it gives sidelights upon the reactions of those in charge of such schools to the stimulation of the pupils, and because it provides much useful evidence in what ways an institution of this kind may exercise harmful influence upon children, whose natural impulse is to ' show off '. To live constantly under the microscope of students of psychology, one batch of whom succeed another in endless repetition, obviously, from the material here before us, proves that some of the children are aware of the situation and see to it that they provide material worth recording. The students themselves seem to react to the child more than we would have expected. We read that they were all ' captivated ' by her ways and conversation, but owned when she tried to boss them, ' the most

maddening thing was that she was usually right'. No hint is given that the child's obvious masculinity was the simplest key to her riddle, although many observations point to it; particularly her spirit of rivalry and emulation where the boys were concerned. Hence the wish to dominate doubtless was a compensation she was seeking for the denied masculinity.

M. Chadwick.

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APPLIED PSYCHO-ANALYSIS.

Beata Rank. Zur Rolle der Frau in der Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft. *Imago*, 1924, Vol. X, p. 278.

'After the death of the primal father' the women tended to usurp his power until they in turn were overcome by the sons: a series of events which is mirrored in the fact that Œdipus, after slaying his father, has then to wrestle with the Sphinx, and which in general finds expression in the numerous myths in which the young hero vanquishes a female monster (woman with the penis). The author also follows Bachofen in assuming a stage of mother-right before the period of father rule, so that we have a total series of four early stages of development as follows:—

1. Primitive mother rule (as postulated by Bachofen),
2. Father rule,
3. Second period of mother rule,
4. Son rule (the son in turn eventually becoming the father). The second period of mother rule is correlated with certain well-marked psychological characteristics in women (masculine traits, especially pugnacity, based on father identification).

Considerable space is devoted to an expression of Bachofen's views on certain myths as representing the conflict of matriarchal and patriarchal tendencies and the eventual triumph of the latter.

J. C. F.

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Flora Kraus. Die Frauensprache bei den primitiven Völkern. *Imago*, 1924, Vol. X, p. 296.

The author gives a brief review of the facts concerning differences between the forms of speech used by the two sexes in certain primitive peoples, and then proceeds to a consideration of the chief theories hitherto advanced to account for these differences. The theories are classed as historical (that the women's speech represents a remnant of the speech of a conquered race), social-economic (that the speech differences are due to sex differences in occupation), psychological (that the differences are analogous to the spontaneous efforts at speech-construction made by young children) and religious (that the differences can be traced to taboos on certain words). Most of these theories (except perhaps the first) have, it is

suggested, some important element of truth, but they require supplementation along psycho-analytic lines.

For her own explanation the author divides the phenomena into two classes. The first class embraces those cases where the sex differences may be traced to avoidance of the names of near relatives. Here the meaning of the terms used is clear to both sexes, and the linguistic differences are ultimately due to the effects of incest repression. In the second class fall those cases where the words used by one sex are not even understood by the other sex. Here the things referred to are mostly of an anatomical or physiological nature and are either intimately related to the sexual functions or represent displacements of sexual interests. Both classes possess interesting parallels among the linguistic practices of civilized people and of neurotics in particular.

J. C. F.

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Imre Hermann. Zwei Überlieferungen aus Pascals Kinderjahren. *Imago*, 1925, Vol. XI, p. 346.

The inclusion in biographies of traditional and mythical stories may for one versed in their unconscious significance throw considerable light on the family setting in question. Dr. Hermann quotes two such tales of Blaise Pascal's childhood included by Reuchlin in his life of Pascal, and deduces from them the state of the Œdipus situation in both father and son in the latter's early years, and connects with it various facts of his later life (Pascal's Jansenism—struggle against certain authorities, scruples with regard to infant baptism and the family, change of attitude after death of father).

According to the first tale, Pascal's father attributed to the revenge of a witch the year-old child's water phobia and anxiety attacks when the parents approached one another, imminent death being averted by the sacrifice of a cat in place of the child and of the horse first proffered by the father. This, says Dr. Hermann, is an Œdipus phantasy on the part of both father and son ; the son wishes to interfere with the parents' marital relations (water = urine = semen), the father desires the son's death.

The second tale describes the father's refusal to allow the gifted son to share his own beloved study of mathematics, and the twelve-year-old boy's independent discovery of the forbidden knowledge. Dr. Hermann suggests that we have here a wish-fulfilment and a displacement : the independent discovery of forbidden knowledge in the realm of sex.

M. N. Searl.

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F. C. Bartlett. Feeling, Imaging and Thinking. *British Journal of Psychology (General Section)*, 1925, Vol. XVI, p. 16.

Affect is not a function of any single tendency to action but of the interaction of tendencies. When different tendencies clash we get unpleasant

affect, when they work harmoniously together and integrate to produce some new mode of reaction we get pleasant affect. Owing to its great diffusibility over the elements of a given situation and transferability from one situation to another associated therewith, feeling is only a very rough guide to action, indicating *that* something should be done rather than *what* should be done. Cognition arises in the course of mental evolution as a means of producing more definite and specific action—first in the form of images, which reproduce or anticipate situations more or less in their entirety; then in the form of thinking, which possesses greater powers of abstraction and discrimination and which therefore gets further away from the accidentals of a particular situation. These considerations explain to some extent the fact that images are more intimately related to feelings than are thoughts.

J. C. F.

BOOK REVIEWS

Zur Psychologie der weiblichen Sexualfunktionen. (*Neue Arbeiten zur ärztlichen Psychoanalyse Nr. V.*) By Dr. Helene Deutsch. (Internationaler Psychoanalytische Verlag, 1925.)

It is of the greatest value that an undertaking like the subjection of the whole range of female sexual functioning to psycho-analytic consideration should be attempted at all. We approach this work with double interest : first, because here again part of the domain of normal psychology is opened up to psycho-analytic investigation, and that not only some one aspect of it, but nothing less than the whole sexual life of woman ; secondly, because here the widely scattered items of knowledge on the subject are gathered together and a whole is made of them, based on the newest theoretical insight ; and further this is enriched by new aspects and findings gleaned from the clinical experiences of the writer.

I shall limit myself in the following review to a short mention of already known material, with a full account of the new matter.

The peculiarities of the development of female infantile sexuality begin in the ' phallic stage ', described by Freud ; the writer sees two essential factors in this phase :

1. The clitoris is looked upon by the little girl as ' an absolutely complete (*absolut vollwertiges*) organ ', and she has the same anxieties about it as the boy has about the penis.

2. The tendencies of this stage are *entirely masculine*, and are rooted in an identification with the father.

It is the discovery of her lack of a penis which first leads to a mother-identification, and that too of a regressive and anal nature. The wish for an ' anal child ', as a substitute and compensation for the penis, is reanimated ; and as a result, the guilt and anxiety feelings that belong to the genitalia become attached to this wish. With her discovery of her organic deficiency, clitoral sexuality, and with it the identification with the father, is given up.

The father-identification moves a step higher, partly by a desexualization of it and by its being set up in the super-ego, and partly by a passing over to object-libido in relation to the father. After this ' move towards passivity ' the little girl's Œdipus complex declines, not only because her wishes are never fulfilled, but also because the mother-identification also progresses to a higher stage of ego-ideal development, and from then on the rivalry with the father falls out. When there is an introjection of the mother the building up of the ego-ideal in this way miscarries, and she continues to be regarded as the degraded sexual object, so that this identification with her contributes to the prostitute complex.

For the rest the other possible reactions which are known to occur when

the lack of the penis is discovered are well described. Along with the ' wishful and revengeful ' type of woman noticed by Abraham, special consideration is given to those who even in the unconscious do not accept castration and cling to the father-identification ; these set up a masculine super-ego and later become homosexual, or at least take up a masculine active rôle in heterosexual relations.

The writer holds that the discovery of this phallic stage elucidates *the masculine complex* entirely, leaving no gaps in our understanding of it. She thinks that the regularity with which the masculine (castration) complex is found in the analysis of women points to a biological determinant ; the formation of the phallic stage is an actual necessity, in the same way as is the formation of the oral or anal stages. This phallic stage ' is biologically necessitated by the fact that an active genital organ exists '. The formation of genital primacy is held to arise entirely from depreciation in the value set on the fæces, externally—through training—and internally on account of the loss experienced. ' This depreciation drives the narcissistic libido of both sexes to the discovery of new resources in the body.'

As no corresponding stage of feminine development is present in the man, there is for him no possibility of a fixation in, or of a regression to, this phallic stage of organization as with the woman.

Puberty is a faithful repetition of the processes of the phallic stage *in two ways :* as in the boy it begins with ' a wave of activity '. ' The clitoris, like the penis, impels towards masculine action in the outer world.' This actively directed function is frustrated as before by the organic deficiency, and is therefore turned again towards the self, that is, it is changed into masochism and passivity. This secondary masochism is now added to the primary erotogenic masochism, and these two together result in the masochistic attitude characteristic for woman.

By reason of this move towards passivity the hitherto active organ, the clitoris, ' is destined to be put out of action ' ; it has to stand back because it ' cannot keep pace with the increased demand in respect of activity '.

The fact that just before the development of womanhood an increase of masculinity in girls can be observed with striking regularity is brought forward as evidence for this ' wave of activity '. ' This masculinity finds expression in a greater power of sublimation, in overt homosexuality, and in the whole mental and physical personality '.

The organic deficiency is settled ' for good and all ' by the physical fact of menstruation. Menstruation involves a two-fold disappointment, round which centre all the troubles connected with it, i.e. ' no penis, no child.'

The girl is driven forcibly into the realm of phantasy, on the one hand by this disappointment, and on the other by the delay between the possibility of satisfaction and sexual maturity. The typical pubertal phantasies are those designated by the writer as parthenogenic, and prostitution phantasies. The first are characteristic of the type of woman who seeks

for compensation for her genital injury in an over-valuation of intellect, the latter of women in whom the libido is more especially displaced from the genitalia to the body as a whole. Further, rape phantasies are typical of puberty. Like the menstrual bleeding, these phantasies also prepare the way for defloration and the cathexis of the vagina with libido.

In this way preparation is made during puberty for the moment when the man shall take possession of her. The actual passing over from the clitoris as the chief zone is made, however, during the sexual act itself. The way to it is not direct, for defloration means for the woman ' nothing but a disappointment, not only in regard to the expected sexual pleasure, but also as a narcissistic injury '. The hostile impulses awakened by defloration must first of all be overcome by a favourable attitude of love towards her partner before the woman succeeds in exchanging the infantile wish for a penis ' for the real and equally valuable possession of the vagina.' ' And just as the penis is the whole ego in miniature for the man, so must this newly discovered organ be for the woman '.

In order to bring about this alteration in the value of the female genital, libido has to be conducted to the vagina not only from the clitoris but also from the original erotogenic zones. From the start more libido remains attached to these than in the boy, because the clitoris cannot, even with the most intense masturbatory activity, draw to itself as much libido as the penis can. Further, in puberty the erotogenicity of the whole body is increased because a part of the libido which is forced away from the clitoris invests the whole body by way of the internal secretions.

The transference of the clitoritic libido to the vagina is by way of identification with the partner's penis, so that the penis is represented as belonging to the woman's own body. In this connection the importance of the sexual act lies in its constituting a repetition and at the same time a mastering of the trauma of castration. The physical correlative of this attitude lies in the orgastic activity of the vagina.

In the transference of libido from the body as a whole to the vagina, the displacement of oral libido from above to below plays the chief part. As earlier the libido of the suckling's body was centralized in the mouth, so now the vagina takes over the passive rôle of the sucking mouth, and the penis may be likened to the mamma. This oral sucking activity of the vagina is also indicated by its anatomic form. The real feminine passive attitude is founded on this oral function of the vagina.

Many other conclusions with regard to the mental significance of coitus for the woman follow from this conception of it.

Thus coitus repeats sucking at the mother's breast, and in this way represents a repetition and a mastering of the trauma of weaning. So a mother-child relation is produced between the sexual partners. Finally coitus represents to the unconscious of the woman ' an oral incorporation of the father, who is made into the child and retains this rôle in the preg-

nancy which either really occurs, or occurs in phantasy '. It is only when this maternal function of the vagina is established, together with a maternal attitude to the man in coitus, that the evolution of womanhood is really complete.

There are many reasons for frigidity's being so common, even more common than impotence in man; frequently the clitoris phase is not completely done with. Further, the sensual side of the act is more overlaid with mental factors in women than in men, which leads to increased difficulty in attaining fulfilment of the ' conditions of love ', and also to an increased difficulty in real surrender.

Now whereas for the man the sexual act ends with orgasm, it is—in a mental sense—only completed for the woman in the process of childbirth.

Coitus and childbirth are really *one* process, which is divided into two phases by an interval of time, and the sexual pleasure culminates in childbirth. Coitus is only pleasurable because it means ' an attempt at, and an initiation of, childbirth '.

In pregnancy earlier stages of organization are reanimated, so that the child becomes successively an orally incorporated object, the content of the intestines, and finally the penis.

At the same time, since the child is an object of the outer world, the ambivalent conflicts of every stage of development are played off upon it. The child as an object is partly taken into the ego, and then contributes to the increase of the secondary narcissism of the pregnant woman; all ' the sublimatory trends ' of the woman flow towards it, and so the child becomes the ego-ideal. As ego-ideal it may draw to itself such a measure of ego-libido that the ego is impoverished. Because of the mother-child identification it is permissible to draw conclusions about the child's mental condition from the mental condition of the woman at the time of birth. Parturition means to the woman a repetition of her own birth.

After parturition there follows a very short phase of bottomless emptiness and disappointment that is generally concealed by an amnesia. Parturition means to the unconscious a new castration because of the equation child = penis. It is only when a favourable object-relation to the child is established that the woman finds in the child a compensation for previous losses.

The ambivalent attitude to the child gains in intensity during childbed, because it is no longer softened by complete identification.

The identity mother-child is restored in lactation. The process of incorporation which occurs during coitus is again repeated. In both situations the boundaries between object and subject are obliterated, and both are concerned ' with an oral incorporation of the object in an act of suckling '; only in suckling the rôles of the partners are transposed. In this way once again the weaning trauma is allayed for the mother.

In the climacteric what has been acquired at puberty disappears. The

genital loses its value as an organ of reproduction, and the bodily stimulations which then came into being recede. This close connection with puberty finds expression in the mental content of the climacteric period also, and in such a way that the phases which were passed through during puberty are relived, but in an inverted order. The actual climacteric throws its shadows before it. In the period before the climacteric the woman reacts to the threatened narcissistic injury with a strong increase of narcissistic libido, especially with regard to genital tendencies. Presently vaginal disappointment takes place, and a new regression to clitoral masturbation with increased activity of the phantasy-life ensues. The phantasies are once again a repetition of the incestuous pubertal phantasies, and are directed towards the son or son-substitutes. Somatic observations have also led to comments on the similarity between the climacteric and puberty. A woman is in great danger of mental illness at this period, because of the severe shocks of this phase. The climacteric of men is apparently easier, because their sublimations lie in intellectual regions, while female sublimations lie for the most part within the sexual sphere.

The whole book is pervaded by *one* leading idea. It may be reduced to a short formula, which has more or less the following content :

In the *phallic phase* the little girl gives the same value to her clitoris as is given to the penis. It is only the discovery of her own lack of a penis which leads regressively, *via* the impression of a narcissistic injury, to a feminine attitude. This two-fold process remains a prototype for all further sexual experiences. In puberty, in the sexual act, in childbirth, the woman has first of all to master an uprush of masculine tendencies, in order to attain the possibility of a feminine attitude.

We see from this that the basis on which the conception is built up is the ' phallic stage ' ; to gain a true appreciation of this book it is first of all necessary to subject this phase to a closer inspection. The Freudian conception of a ' phallic stage ' is extended by the writer to mean that in this stage the clitoris has ' the value of the real penis,' that the little girl ' develops the same anxiety about her possession as the boy does about the penis,' and that finally this masculinity is frustrated because of her organic deficiency.

This idea that her masculinity is put out of action by her organic deficiency is illuminating in itself. But the real problem to be met is, *how and how far, in spite of this organic deficiency, such masculine tendencies come into being at all,* or, to put it rather differently, *how can the evolutionary identity of the clitoris with the penis work out to a functional equivalence, notwithstanding the anatomical difference.*

One cannot get round this question by merely considering that the chief contents of the phallic stage in the little girl are obviously unconscious, and only have psychical reality. The pleasure-sensations which are at the root of every stage of libido-organization must be conscious, even as the

innumerable sensations which the little boy gets from his penis are conscious, and it is an appreciation of these which is expressed in the narcissistic value given to the penis.

Further, if the genital organization of the little girl were so entirely identical with that of the little boy, then the mental difference between the sexes, which is incontestable and expresses itself in the girl's whole behaviour, would be quite inexplicable by the libido-theory.

The writer has herself become aware of this problem, for on p. 38 there is the following allusion to it: ' Notwithstanding bisexual tendencies the mental personality of the little girl differs at every phase from that of the little boy. . . . Observations of children at play give unequivocal evidence of the little girl's passive feminine attitude . . .' When at the same time the whole sexual development of the little girl is described as almost identical with that of the boy, until ' the shattering caused by her organic deficiency ', one cannot but have the feeling that the writer has simply set this most ticklish part of the problem on one side, and that up to the present she has been unable to solve this last riddle of the phallic phase.

It will require the most searching analytic observation to elucidate this point.

The writer's theory of a biological basis for the father-identification must also be subjected to strict clinical investigation. Observations must be made as to whether the father-identification really always *coincides* in time with the full bloom of the phallic period. Also how far concurrent factors must be taken into consideration, such as environmental influences and individual experiences, acting together with the ' possession of—existence of—the organ '.

It is not altogether clear what significance the writer ascribes to this ' possession of a penis ' by the little girl as the biological basis of her father-identification. It must be taken into consideration that the man's mother-identification corresponds to no analogous biological hypothesis, and yet its intensity and its results are of no less consequence.

It must be expressly remarked that these criticisms are not to be taken as arguments against the hypothesis brought forward in this book, but rather that they leave the question of the validity and truth of the writer's statements entirely open. These theories have already proved their worth in various respects ; to begin with, there lies in them the very interesting idea that, in the ontogenesis of woman, nature always takes a circuitous path *via* masculinity in order to arrive at full femininity. Further it is in any circumstances not only a stimulating and thoroughly interesting supposition, but it is for certain problems obviously a promising *working hypothesis*. It makes it possible to understand the regularity and wide scope of the masculine complex, apart from the individual experiences of childhood, and to interpret it as a fixation or regression to this stage.

According to the writer puberty, too, begins in the girl with a movement

towards masculinity, and she regards this as a typical and universal process.

We know from Freud that normally part of a girl's masculinity disappears at puberty. How far this decline is preceded by a wave of masculinity cannot be judged apart from clinical material. In a number of neurotic cases this representation certainly fits the case, but whether this move towards masculinity is a regular phase of *normal* development is at present questionable. Simple observation in daily life shows us the contrary frequently enough. We find that at the time of approaching maturation, that is, before puberty—even indeed in the period of infantile sexuality—girls become gentler, more affectionate and more modest, and that the female traits are expressed more and more distinctly in their whole personality.

The writer grounds her theory of the wave of masculinity on the increased amount of libido during the development at puberty ; in this she refers the active-masculine behaviour of the girl directly to the increased activity of instinctual trends. Obviously here we have a double meaning of the word ' active '. It is of course true that the stronger instinct of puberty is *more active* than the weaker one of the latency period. The greater activity of an instinct can, however, express itself in creating higher tensions, and does not necessarily lead to a correspondingly active behaviour on the part of the ego, and induce it to undertake masculine modes of discharge. Instincts—which are always active—can have passive aims, as is obviously the case with the normal woman, in whom the initiation and attainment of motor discharges is expected to come *from without*. Here, though the instinct is essentially active, yet there is no correspondingly active and masculine behaviour on the part of the ego towards the external world.

The writer stands on firm clinical foundations in her description of defloration and the difficulties it entails for adjustment to the sexual act. Here assured analytic experience shows us that a remnant of masculinity has to be overcome before feminine surrender is fully attained.

We must give expression, from a sober clinical point of view, to some criticisms of the extraordinary view that the actual orgasm of the woman takes place during childbirth, and so corresponds, as in the man, to the separation of soma and germ-plasm. It can hardly be disputed that the normal woman gains real terminal pleasure in the sexual act, that is, that there is complete discharge of sexual tensions, and thus coitus can claim the same ' economic ' importance for her as for the man. In the face of this fact, what practical and metapsychological meaning attaches to the assertion that the climax of female sexual pleasure lies in the act of childbirth, which occurs so incomparably less often ? If women had to content themselves in the ordinary way with a merely minor degree of sexual satisfaction, and only now and then experienced the full attainable measure

of genital gratification, then surely some remnants of undischarged sexual tensions, or other signs of insufficient satisfaction, would be discernible in the normal woman, which is obviously not the case.

The matter becomes even more difficult when one considers that in parturition the intense pain greatly predominates over the masochistic pleasure that accompanies it. One would also have to accustom oneself to the idea of an unconscious orgasm, for the unequivocal and uniform pleasure-tone of the conscious perceptions during the sexual act are in complete contrast to the thoroughly mixed sensations aroused during parturition.

These simple reflections warn us to be careful in accepting any ideas based on a far-reaching parallelism between man and woman. The point of view which tends to obliterate the differences between man and woman is certainly fully justified and even fruitful, and leads to much that is of value. The business of further clinical investigations will be the reverse of this, and teach us to know and understand these differences.

We must for the time being be equally cautious with regard to the hypothesis which the writer propounds in discussing the manner in which the vagina undergoes eroticization. From what she says it is not very clear how, from the accepted analogy between mouth and vagina, penis and mamma, she arrived at her conclusion touching the actual dynamic share of mouth-erotism in the process of cathexis of the vagina with libido. It is to be hoped that the casuistic material on which the argument is built up will be promptly published, for not until then shall we have opportunity of studying the way in which the process takes place and its results. The further conclusions that arise from it stand or fall with this hypothesis: that is, that in normal coitus the sexual partner repeats the suckling situation and the mother-child situation, even as regards the feelings. It remains quite incomprehensible how it can be permissible on account of the mother-child identification to draw conclusions ' about the mental condition of the child, from the mental condition of the woman during its birth '.

By a natural sequence of reasoning the writer concludes that, owing to the unconscious equation, parturition = castration, the mental condition of the woman during childbed is first one of disappointment of her masculine desires. Whether the stage described as a period of ' bottomless emptiness and disappointment ' is one typical of the healthy woman must be proved from a wider material drawn from healthy women. Non-analytical observations in maternity hospitals do not apparently bear this out as a universal fact. One might here put the question, which might also be asked at various other points in the work, whether these results are not obtained from a material composed of neurotic women with specially marked and ill-absorbed castration complexes, so that they only apply to certain types of women from the intellectual upper strata of society.

The description of the climacteric probably constitutes the most successful part of the work. It contains a rich mass of material, stimulating and instructive for any analyst.

Taken as a whole, one may surmise that the impetus to write the book arose out of its basic idea which is expressed on p. 14. There we find that: '" the masculine complex " of the woman plays a much more dominant part than does the " feminine complex " of the man '. All the problems of the why and wherefore seem to be dependent on this conception.

Actually, opinion may be divided as to the greater importance of the masculine tendencies in the woman. There is no doubt that we often gain this impression from our analyses. The question is, whether this impression is not caused by the fact that the masculine complex has a stronger tendency to discharge itself in manifest neurotic symptoms, so that to a certain extent it becomes more conspicuous. And, further, there is the question whether the social circumstances of our time are not responsible for its frequent occurrence in this distorted form. We must not forget that hitherto the woman's path to sublimation of her masculinity in extra-sexual and intellectual ways has been much obstructed, while from the beginning of time nothing has hindered the man in working out his femininity in actions of social value, and that either receptively or creatively. This would be a difficult matter to decide, but in any case we are here faced with a problem, and not with a fact.

One cannot do justice to a country-side if one only travels along its main thoroughfares, and in the same way this review which has to keep strictly to the main ideas cannot do justice to the real wealth of observation and thought that this work contains. I might call special attention to the fine description of the pubertal phantasies, and of the period before the climacteric.

One can only hope that the material on which the work is based will soon follow, so that the work will be more convincing to the analyst, and more comprehensible to the non-analyst.

Horney.

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Die Liebe vor der Ehe und ihre Fehlentwicklungen. Tiefenpsychologische Untersuchungen im Reiche des Eros. By Dr. Oskar Pfister. (Ernst-Bircher, Berne and Leipzig, 1925. Pp. 303. Price 6*s*.)

In this volume of 300 pages the worthy populariser of psycho-analysis continues his work, of which Vol. I dealt with ' Liebe des Kindes und ihre Fehlentwicklungen '. Love previous to marriage is for the author an abnormal development except when it strives to attain to ' a life-partnership both in the sensual and the cultural sphere ' (though this lofty aim is often not attained), and when it is capable of continence until the time of marriage.

We are glad to recognize the author's desire, evidenced again in this

book, to propagate some understanding of psycho-analysis among a wider public ; and we appreciate the abundance of instructive examples he gives, even though he has not escaped the danger of sacrificing some measure of scientific strictness in the interests of popular presentation. We cannot, however, approve of the moralizing tendency, which makes itself felt very strongly, although the author repeatedly protests that he has no desire to moralize. Is it desirable to judge by a fixed moral code whether the various individual forms of experience in love are to be regarded as healthy or as abnormal developments ? Could Goethe's erotic life be regarded from this point of view ? In this book the boundaries of health and normality are so narrowly defined that only few individuals would satisfactorily stand the test by it. We are of opinion that a point of view depending on an individually determined standard, fixed in any case too high, can neither do justice to all the biological and psychological facts nor help towards the evolution of independent individuals possessing autonomous moral standards, though this is surely what the author desires.

Müller-Braunschweig.

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Psycho-Analysis and the Psychic Disorder of General Paralysis. By Stefan Hollós and Dr. S. Ferenczi. Translated by Gertrude M. Barnes and Gunther Keil. (Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1925. Pp. 48. Price $1.50.)

In one way this is an epoch-making little work, since it is the first attempt to discover whether some of the characteristic symptoms of an organic psychosis can be made more intelligible by the aid of psycho-analysis ; not that Dr. Hollós has subjected general paralysis to psycho-analytical technique, but that he gives us his own interpretation of certain symptoms in his patients—as in applied psycho-analysis.

It is especially from a study of the delusions respecting age, time, duration, numbers and such like, that he concludes that these wish-fulfilments relate to the inception of the disease (either the syphilis or the first mental difficulties) as if the patient is seeking to escape from the truths of reality (the facts of his disease) from that date onward. In other words, general paralysis is a patho-psychosis analogous to Ferenczi's patho-neurosis. The delusions of strength and well-being are a reaction against the patient's weakness and malaise ; while the depression in the depressed cases is found by interpretation again to refer to the malady itself.

In addition to all this, the physical degeneration of the cerebral cortex weakens the repressing forces of the patient and he therefore regresses to the infantile instinctual life which is psycho-analytically so familiar to the readers of this JOURNAL, the colouring of the clinical picture varying as the man is, for example, strongly narcissistic, oral-erotic, or sadistically anal-erotic.

The psycho-analytical studies of the clinical material are by Hollós, and this work is broadly considered in a more theoretical essay by Ferenczi, which occupies the last third of the book.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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Eine Neurosenanalyse in Träumen (*Neue Arbeiten zur ärztlichen Psychoanalyse, No. III.*). By Otto Rank. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Leipzig—Wien—Zürich, 1924. Pp. 231.)

The more expeditious form of psycho-analytic therapy, as represented by Ferenczi and Rank in their work *Entwicklungsziele der Psychoanalyse*, is here exemplified in relation to the technique of interpreting dreams in a case of obsessional neurosis in a woman which was cured in six months three years ago. Here we may see a distinguished dream-investigator and student of symbolism, such as Rank is, for 150 hours interpreting the patient's dreams with reference only to their symbolism and the ' psychoanalytic situation '. Through the dreams and the associations to them we learn the phases of the resistance and the process of cure. The author regards impatience, resignation, acceptance of a (younger) sister, the weaning phase, identification with and detachment from the analyst as the chief factors in the cure, and relates some of them closely to his book, *Das Träuma der Geburt.* The psycho-analytic interpretation of dreams practised here takes into account not so much the day's residues and unconscious instinctual forces as the still unknown reactions which change in the course of treatment and in which ' alone ' the process of cure can be followed. The whole mental life of this patient seems to be absorbed in carrying out the idea of ' playing a trick '. Making use of more abundant material, Rank intends later on to demonstrate that such unconscious ruling motives direct the course of human destinies, that they essentially condition human capabilities for love and work, and that they must be considered as of importance also in the formation of neuroses. The perusal of detailed accounts of analyses is well known to be a trial of patience : this book, too, will not be read at one sitting. But since Rank's numerous, highly significant, and in some cases revolutionary suggestions must be weighed, tried, and discussed, we should not grudge the pains involved in reading.

Hitschmann.

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Psychology for Nurses. Introductory Lectures for Nurses upon Psychology and Psycho-Analysis. By Mary Chadwick. (William Heinemann (Medical Books), Ltd., 1925. Pp. 249 + xvi. Price 6*s.*)

This book consists of twelve lectures given to nurses during the winter and spring of 1924–25. They consist of a simple and clear exposition of the fundamental principles of psycho-analysis, their aim being to explain

to nurses their own unconscious motives as well as those of their patients and of other members of the staff with whom they have to work.

The book contains intrinsic evidence that Miss Chadwick has herself had experience of nursing and she introduces her readers (nurses) to many psychological types in order to show how friction or sympathy may occur between them and otherwise to illustrate the subject-matter. The last chapter consists of the history of the development of psycho-analysis. It is a pity that Miss Chadwick did not get this section read by some one more conversant with the subject, for she has been led into committing some rather serious inaccuracies. Her account of the beginning of psycho-analysis is that Freud, after studying in Paris and being stimulated by Charcot to interest in medical psychology, returned to Vienna 'about 1880–82' (which seems a long time for the journey) and thereupon commenced work with Breuer. The facts, on the contrary, are that Breuer's analysis of Frau Anna O. was conducted between 1880 and 1882, was communicated to Freud about 1884, and that he vainly tried to interest Charcot in the matter when he studied under him in 1885.

It is not an easy matter to expound psycho-analytical principles to a lay audience without arousing opposition or even giving offence, but in our opinion Miss Chadwick has approached more closely to that ideal than any of her predecessors. The book is very readable and will be helpful, not only to nurses, but to a very large number of other people who wish for an introductory knowledge about unconscious processes. We cordially congratulate Miss Chadwick and wish her book the success it deserves.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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The Development of Psycho-Analysis. By S. Ferenczi and Otto Rank. Authorized English Translation by Caroline Newton. (Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, New York, 1925. Pp. 68. Price $2.00.)

As a full review of this book appeared in this JOURNAL (Vol. VI, p. 484), it is only necessary here to call attention to this useful translation. Miss Newton, through her personal contact with the authors, is in a specially favourable position for presenting their views in English.

E. J.

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Essays in Psychopathology. By William A. White. (Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, New York, 1925. Pp. 140. Price $2.50.)

The following list of contents will give an idea of what this book contains. 1. Existing Tendencies, Recent Developments and Correlations in the Field of Psychopathology. 2. The Comparative Method in Psychiatry (Psychopathology). 3. The Human Organism as an Energy System. 4. Individuality and Introversion. 5. Primitive Mentality and the Racial Unconscious. 6. Two Deflecting Traditions. 7. The Significance of

Psychopathology for General Somatic Pathology. 8. Psychoanalytic Parallels. 9. Primitive Mentality. 10. The Adlerian Concept of the Neuroses. 11. Physical Biology.

It is hard to review the book as a whole because it is a compilation of papers, addresses and book reviews written at various times in the last thirteen years. Running through it, however, is a consistent note of emphasis on the functional view of the mind and on the necessity of viewing both body and mind as a biologically functioning unity. The author rightly insists on the impossibility of understanding human problems, particularly mental ones, so long as man is regarded in the old way as a separate entity without any relation to environment. Most of the book is a running comment on the progress of psychopathology written in the author's well-known lucid and attractive manner. In one place he reviews the great change that has come about in psychiatry during the thirty-three years in which he has been engaged in the work, and he remarks ' for this order of things we have one man to thank more than anyone else in all the world, and that is Professor Freud and his method of psycho-analysis ' (p. 66).

The volume will prove equally interesting and instructive to all workers in psychopathology.

E. J.

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Childhood's Fears. Psycho-Analysis and the Inferiority-Fear Complex. By G. F. Morton, M.A., B.Sc., Headmaster of the Boys' Modern School, Leeds. With a Foreword by the Rt. Rev. The Lord Bishop of Knaresborough and a Preface by W. H. Maxwell Telling, M.D., B.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.P., Professor of Therapeutics in the University of Leeds. (Duckworth, London, 1925. Pp. 284. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The connoisseur in such matters is by now in a position to make a considerable collection of books purporting to be on the subject of psychoanalysis whose salient characteristic may be described in one word—muddle-headedness. In such a collection the present volume will rank as a choice specimen. From almost every page glaring instances of error and ignorance, or of misleading half-truths that are still more tiresome, could be culled, but we have neither the space nor the inclination to track these down *seriatim* and must confine ourselves to commenting on a few examples.

Two of these will suffice to indicate the state of the author's knowledge of psycho-analysis. ' With him (i.e. Freud) shame, disgust, bashfulness, etc., are merely sublimations of infantile sexuality ' (p. 149). The author has evidently not grasped such an elementary point as the difference between a sublimation and a reaction-formation, so naturally does not realize that the former is derived from sexuality and the latter not. This is in accord with his firm belief that according to Freudians everything emanates from sexuality, a belief which will be commented on below. The

second instance is the following: 'Freudians are mistaken in asserting that conflict and repression can be eliminated by giving in to natural impulses' (p. 49). A more grotesque caricature would be hard to imagine; if it were true, what would be the purpose of a long psycho-analytic treatment? Yet on another page we find the following quotation from Freud, which the author has evidently not assimilated: 'If we were to make victory possible to the sensual side instead, the disregarded forces repressing sexuality would have to indemnify themselves by symptoms' (p. 51).

With confidence born of 'conceit sublimed by ignorance' the author castigates Freud over and over again for what he considers to be the latter's grotesque errors and childish nonsense. Freud's supreme mistake is of course the importance he attaches to sexuality, especially in childhood. 'The Freudian is acting like a child with a new toy. For a time he can concern himself with nothing else. It is a nine days' wonder! Afterwards it is relegated to the scrap-heap, as it is predicted—wrongly, we think—that Freud's works will be. "As fire drives out fire, so pity pity." Strange indeed that the Freudian's childish preoccupation with a new theory should blind him to the predominant characteristic of childhood' (p. 103). By this characteristic is meant fear, although the author is here speaking of the normal child. He takes the view that only some children experience manifestations of sexuality. Very amusing is his criticism of the Œdipus complex, which he evidently imagines is a purely masculine term: 'Why, it may be asked, does one hear so much of the Œdipus and so little of the Electra complex? A sound and healthy concept should be able to stand on both its legs. We are told that the imaginative faculty of girls is possibly much less active in respect of this parental relationship, but we suspect rather that Freud has been unconsciously influenced towards the Œdipus bent by his native (Jewish) connection' (p. 150). What is to be said of a critic of Freud who is under the impression that Freud holds incest tendencies to be an appurtenance of the male sex?

In many places throughout the book Freud is said to take the view that there is nothing in the mind but sexuality. For instance, 'So far there is general agreement with Freud. Bitter opposition, however, has been raised to the emphasis which he places on the sex instinct, which he maintains is the *ultimate basis of every impulse* or energy or motive. There is virtually nothing else that can drive man except sex longing. Sex is the chief element in the life-urge, the only libido stream, the one repressed instinct and the leading cause of conflict' (p. 39). One quite fails to understand how such critics reconcile this curious fancy with the obviously central part played in Freud's psychology by the idea of intrapsychical conflict. What is the conflict supposed to be between? Still stranger is the fact that in another part of the book the author actually prints a quotation from Freud in which the latter points out the grossness of this error. This is how the author tries to cope with the antinomy: 'Nevertheless, what Freud now

denies, he has often implied, and what he has implied his followers have categoricized. He has too often left unsaid what he now asseverates with such intensity of feeling. The truth seems to be that Freud's ego instinct is something in the nature of an afterthought ' (p. 158). Even on the rare occasions when his own views tend to coincide with Freud's, he has to invent a fictitious one for Freud to hold so that it may be contradicted. Thus, speaking of Freud's supposed ' identification of the hunger instinct with the sexual ', he writes : ' We believe that there is no justification for Freud's attempt to identify the Self-Preservation Instinct (hunger) with the Race Preservation Instinct (sex). We agree with Jung that pleasure in nutrition is not sexual. It is a different thing altogether to admit that sucking *qua* sucking (which does not subserve the function of nutrition) is an instinctive practice which belongs to the sex group ' (p. 143). After observing these misapprehensions our interest is not greatly aroused by the author's final conclusion that ' psycho-analysis could be re-written with an entirely altered orientation ' (p. 182), and we feel inclined to suggest to him that before undertaking this task he might well re-read psycho-analysis with an entirely altered orientation.

The author's lack of informed judgment is also shown in his use of the literature on the subject. Anyone who mentions the word psycho-analysis becomes at once an authority to be employed for the author's particular purpose. We find Jung being called a representative psycho-analyst, Stekel masquerading as ' Freud's famous disciple ', and we wonder whether Professor Freud or Mr. Pfister would be more astonished to read that ' The most renowned psycho-analysts, Freud amongst them, regard the pastor pedagogue, Oskar Pfister, as a master-craftsman in psycho-analysis ' (p. 273). Only two or three psycho-analysts are ever mentioned by name, whereas the author quotes with the utmost indiscrimination writers so disparate as Rivers, Baudouin, Holt, Nicoll, Healy, MacCurdy and Mrs. Arnold-Forster. A novice trying to acquire from the book some conception of what psycho-analysis really is must fall into a state of utter bewilderment.

From such a gallimaufry it is not easy to extract any clear idea of what the author's own views are, but they would appear to be somewhat as follows. The fundamental features of childhood the author considers to be fear and the sense of inferiority. These also play the chief part in neurosis, sexual factors being entirely subordinate. The author states his conviction that ' sex is only a secondary consideration. Even in cases where the neurotic symptoms are undoubtedly related to the sexual perversions (homosexuality, masturbation, etc.), it is the inferiority-fear sentiments which are the *fundamental* factors in causation ' (p. 275). ' Frequently—very frequently—the fear complex, like the ass in the fable, clothes itself in the lion-skin of sexuality, and, thus disguised, roars for very security. Jung truly says that what appears in sex form may not be sexuality. The sexual aspect is entirely superficial. The fear complex is fundamental '

(p. 111). He has come across cases of hysteria among students ' whose sex life he had every reason to believe was free from repression ' (p. 118).

The origin of the all-important fear and inferiority complexes is dealt with only very sketchily. ' Whatever medical opinion may be, experience as a schoolmaster has led the writer to the conclusion that in boyhood and youth it is sexual *expression* rather than *repression* which makes the neurotic character. The repression involved is that of the moral demands ' (p. 91). ' Particularly pronounced is the inferiority feeling following repression of the moral demands. Any sexual malpractice makes for the feelings of remorse and inferiority ' (p. 92). Various passages, for instance on the ' evils of secret vice ', make it probable that what the author really has in mind are the castration fears associated with guilty masturbation, but his attitude towards the latter would not seem calculated to remedy the pathological situation, especially as he does not display any knowledge of what either the fear or the guilt really proceeds from.

We know that in the vulgar outcry on the matter the alleged dangers of psycho-analysis are very greatly exaggerated. If any danger is to be discerned it is surely from the attempts made by uninformed and unqualified persons to apply what they vainly imagine to be psycho-analysis, and psycho-analysts would be remiss if they did not protest against such an abuse. The author of the present book, for example, quite light-heartedly embarks on what he calls the psycho-analytic treatment of epilepsy, hysteria and other psychoneuroses, and urges his colleagues to do the same. He points out the ways in which, *without any special technique*,[1] teachers can learn how to save boys from their complexes. This art can be acquired without contact with any psycho-analyst. ' It has been argued that all teachers should be analysed. We agree; but let it be *self-analysis*.[1] There is no need for the interposition of the physician. Let the teacher analyse himself ' (p. 274). A discussion of whether a physician or a schoolmaster is the better qualified to carry out such treatment ends with an emphatic preference for the latter (pp. 272, 273), though the former may be useful for the purpose of making ' the initial diagnosis of an ailing child '. A physician who is specially trained in psycho-analysis would thus appear to be doubly disqualified from treating a neurotic child psycho-analytically.

It is an index to the prevailing vagueness on the subject in Anglo-Saxon countries that this noxious farrago is ' heartily commended ' to the public by no less responsible a person than the Lord Bishop of Knaresborough, who announces that it deals with ' the application of psycho-analysis to the work of the teacher '. Further, an eminent physician, a University Professor of Therapeutics, has written a sympathetic preface. Like the author, he also thinks that ' analytical psychology has gone a long way since the days of Freud ', for later work shows that ' the sexual is not the only motive for

[1] Italicized in the original.

human conduct, or necessarily the most important'. We regret this the more because Dr. Telling writes with remarkable understanding on the subject of upbringing in general. Indeed, we cannot refrain from quoting a passage from his preface, one of the few in the whole book with which we can agree: 'The greatest sin of modern, cultured parenthood is the tendency to thrust—I use no milder word—its own desires and ambitions into the lives of the children. It cannot be told too clearly, or too often, to parents that the fundamental duty of parenthood is to train children to realize their own potentialities to the fullest and truest extent possible; to help them to become *individuals* when they attain the proper age. To achieve this there must be a resolute effacement of all parental yearnings which may tend to militate against the successful carrying out of these ideas. "When the apple is ripe it falls from the parent stem and becomes, in turn, a tree and a bearer of apples." Yet it is rare to meet parents, even in these days of earnest and thoughtful parenthood, who realize to the full their duties to their children in this direction' (p. 12).

Let us apply the spirit of this homily a little more widely. We would then say that if the parent meddled less with education, the educationist with medicine, and the physician with ethics, the final result to the object of their attention might be more satisfactory.

E. J.

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Essentials of Psychiatry. By George W. Henny, M.D. (Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore. Pp. 200. Price 13*s.* 9*d.* net.)

When the author was a student 'the psychiatric literature . . . gave only superficial understanding and confidence'. Hence this book, which opens with an interesting chapter on Personality Development from a biological standpoint and one on Personality Disorders, which give promise of a masterly text-book on Psychiatry. Immediately after this, to our amazement, the work tails off. Descriptions of the psychoses, psychoneuroses (including the anxiety neurosis, by the way), toxic and organic psychoses and constitutional inferiority (amentia) are condensed into seventy-four pages, and many of these are filled with long descriptions of cases. A description of the symptoms of the toxic psychoses in general occupies eleven lines and of the symptoms of general paralysis just over one page. The result is that even cardinal symptoms are frequently not mentioned, e.g. amnesia in the toxic psychoses and pupillary disturbances in general paralysis, except perhaps casually in the case reports.

By the way, we learn that in the State of New York one adult in ten enters a mental hospital at some time of his life and that alcohol accounts for 10 per cent. of mental disorders. This last figure is an example of the extent to which the unconscious can manipulate statistics. It used to be less than 2 per cent. here when alcohol was cheap and unrestricted.

The chapter on treatment (twelve pages) includes a poor account of psycho-analysis. That on Psychiatric nursing (nineteen pages) is written by Miss Adele Posten, a former directress of nursing at the Bloomingdale Hospital. It includes much teaching that is obsolete in this country, including a couple of pages on the technique of administering the *wet pack*. We doubt whether a *wet pack* has been given in Great Britain since the last century. There are also chapters on Psychopathology of the Normal, Mental Hygiene and Psychiatric Social Service, all of which take no account of unconscious motives of conduct and are presumably intended to appeal to members of the laity who, in these latter days, like to dabble in such matters.

The book devotes too much attention to unessentials and is certainly no improvement on the psychiatric literature of the author's student days.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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Psychological Healing. A Historical and Clinical Study. By Pierre Janet. Translated from the French by Eden and Cedar Paul. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1925. 2 Vols. Pp. 1265. Price 42*s*. per set.)

In the publishers' announcement of these monumental volumes we read that ' Fundamentally, the aim of the work is to write a detailed history of mental healing, to enrich that history with the wealth of Janet's own clinical experience, to draw inferences as to the most successful methods now available, and to forecast the possibilities of future progress '. It may be said at once that the work fairly fulfils these expectations so far as French clinical psychology is concerned. A quarter of a century ago, when French psychology was in the van of progress, this would have been a more valuable achievement than it is to-day when so many other countries have long outdistanced France in fertility of ideas and discoveries. In the most inadequate account of the work done in these other countries Janet fails lamentably in his presentation, so that the work was well out of date before it was written. This criticism, however, is weakened by the following consideration : the greater part of the work consists of lectures delivered more than twenty years ago, the printing of which was delayed by the war and other factors ; the only modern part of it is a slightly modified reprint of the author's famous address on psycho-analysis delivered before the International Congress of Medicine in 1913. Janet is certainly in no hurry with his historical perspective, and we rub our eyes when we read, for instance, that ' the treatment of nervous disorders by rest has come very much to the front during recent decades, due especially to the teaching of Weir Mitchell ' (p. 13). In another recent work Janet announced that the practice of psycho-analysis had extended from Austria to Switzerland ; here he tells us that the psycho-analytic doctrines ' developed first in Austria and subsequently in the United States ' (p. 14). Presently the news will

percolate to Paris that psycho-analysis has also been heard of in Germany and England !

The prime aim of the work, therefore, is historical, and for this Janet brings some valuable qualifications. He has a wealth of personal clinical experience at his disposal and knows how to make excellent literary use of it, he is probably better versed in the history of French psychology than any other living writer, and he has at his command a most attractive style, much of the charm of which his gifted translators have been able to recapture. Janet is at his best in recounting the work and views of fifty years ago. Here he is simply fascinating to read, and no great demand is made on his weakest quality, that of critical judgement. His other weakness as an historian is his incorrigible inaccuracy. There must be few scientific writers so constitutionally incapable of verifying their references or so willing, when in a difficulty, to invent quotations, to misquote, or even to give references that don't exist. Comparison of the translation with the original shows that he has been faithfully served in this respect, as in others, by his translators. They have been at endless pains to cover up this weakness of their author and to give at least a measure of accuracy to the references made.

In his chapter on psycho-analysis Janet persists in repeating once more the untrue statements which have often been exposed and which have done his international reputation so much harm. We have nothing to add here to the review published in this JOURNAL (1925, p. 348) of a similar book by the same author.

E. J.

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The Crisis in Psychology. By Hans Driesch. (Oxford University Press, 1925. Pp. 275. Price 11*s*. 6*d*. net.)

A quarter of a century ago struggling with problems of descent amid Amazonian forests and on Andean heights a friend in Europe to whom I had communicated some of my questionings of current theories sent me a few numbers of a periodical—*Roux's Entwicklungsmechanik der Organismus*, where to my joy I found biologists attempting to solve some of my problems along experimental lines—among them and perhaps above them all was Hans Driesch, now Professor of Philosophy at Leipzig. Thus well disposed I came to a book on psychology by a biologist and philosopher, the author of the 1914 Gifford Lectures, heightened by his complimenting psychology, in whose puzzles I am daily involved, as the most important and the most promising of all sciences at the present time.

But the compliment loses substance when you find that the author has only an amateurish knowledge of a science upon which he has lectured at Pekin, Nankin, Tokio and Columbia University (the present volume reproduces these lectures).

Driesch finds five critical points in psychology, to some of which I may return, but I must confess that the crisis in psychology is serious indeed when a biologist who has given evidence of working at philosophy (see Driesch's *Entelechy*) can lecture to the world and publish the lectures with an equipment in psychology that will be found in any student sitting for an examination.

For Driesch psychological problems are primarily problems in logic, a claim which has been recently disposed of by F. C. S. Schiloer and therefore need not trouble us here. To-day if you would be a psychologist you must descend into the market-place and speak with and listen to human beings —among others oneself—not by mere introspection but by a ruthless vivisection. There is no evidence of this process here although there is a faint recognition of its necessity, for the author recognizes that a psychology must explain the meaning and significance of the single acts of psychical life.

Freud is treated far too handsomely in some stray remarks on dreams, too handsomely, for it is clear that the Freudian unconscious is altogether foreign to Driesch's conception. He writes of Freud's symbols being *unfortunately* almost exclusively sexual. Translate this into another science: Boyle has shown that the pressure of a gas is *unfortunately* proportional to the volume.

Now of course if Freud is wrong in his facts and in their interpretation it is unfortunate for him and his disciples, but psychology no more than physics has to do with sanctions and values although these are of course of psychological significance—to be investigated as such.

Among Driesch's critical points are the relationship of mind to body and the problems of psychical research, He has naturally no difficulty in overthrowing the theory of psycho-physical parallelism, but his advocacy of psycho-physical interaction is vitiated by the dogma that all knowing is conscious knowing. Whilst recent psycho-analytic investigations have made clear the importance of interaction, we are no nearer clarity in regard to the essential ego or the soul, as Driesch calls it. The terms material, psychical, mechanical, will be here entirely out of place. At all events psycho-analysts can see whither the road leads (Freud's *Das Ich und das Es*), and this is more than any other psychological theory has yet been able to accomplish.

Nor, of course, will the theories of psycho-analysis be shaken by discoveries in psychical research; facts will be accepted and find accommodation. Driesch does well to insert sections on parapsychology, pointing out to us that there is abundant unexplored territory for psycho-analysis yet to cover. But *poco poco*.

M. D. Eder.

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The Nature of Laughter. By J. C. Gregory. (Kegan Paul, London, 1924. Pp. 239. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*)

It is not clear whether the author intends his book to be regarded as a light or a serious contribution to the subject, but much speaks in favour of the former assumption. The treatment is extremely discursive and indeed consists mainly of quotations from general literature, no discrimination being made between popular journalists and serious students of æsthetics. The bibliographical value itself of the book, however, is severely —and for a scientific work vitally—impaired by the fact that the author's reading appears to be confined to one language. He keeps throughout to the surface of the subject and avoids raising any deep or intimate psychological problems. In the chapter on laughter and tickling, for instance, there is no reference to the erotic aspects of the latter phenomenon.

There is a very sketchy account of Freud's views, but the author does not appear to have made any serious study of them. He dismisses them with arguments such as the following. In treating of tendency wit Freud considers only the repressed motives and ignores the ' higher ' functions of wit. ' " Experience is a good schoolmaster, but the school-fees are somewhat heavy " is both good wit and good sense : it has a poignant sense of truth, contains no hostile stab, and has no relish of the indecent ' (p. 193). Many people would rank the remark as an epigram rather than as a witticism, but in so far as it may give rise to amusement or laughter it is surely because of the implied resentment against the hardness of fate and the pleasure of being able to degrade the idea of it to the level of a trafficking pedagogue, much as the Jews sometimes did with their Jahve. The author admits, none the less, that the emphasis laid by Freud on release of repression is a significant contribution to the subject.

The summary of the book, consisting of one-eighth of the whole, is as discursive as the rest, so that it is very difficult to ascertain what conclusions the author actually reaches. His final sentence is : ' The spirit of comedy snatches a laughing enlivenment from failure, derives a cheerful gusto from the spectacle of human fussiness in a little corner of the universe, and, when it does not lose its background of essential seriousness, pleasantly converts the frustration of our ideals into genial mirth ' (p. 228). A more illuminating sentence runs as follows : ' A quick interruption of activity that precipitates into relief is the essential characteristic of laughter as it is revealed in its characteristic bodily expression ' (p. 204). The chief value of the book appears to us to be its readableness and the general interest of the numerous quotations.

* E. J.

The Young Delinquent. By Cyril Burt, M.A., D.Sc., London. (University of London Press, Ltd. Pp. xx + 643. Price 17*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The theoretical or theological assumptions for the savageries practised upon the criminal were tending to be undermined by the humanitarian

impulses that led up to the French Revolution and the legalists were becoming profoundly discouraged when to their aid came certain biological theories which, by the invention of the ' born criminal ', permitted the more inhumane impulses of society represented by its judges and magistrates to maintain old cruelties, provided punishment was carried out in the name of Science ; the difference to the criminal being that there disappeared the occasional charity meted out to him, at any rate in the more Catholic countries of Europe, since this was itself frowned upon by Science.

In full reaction from this scientific invention comes Dr. Burt, who after studying the young criminal at first hand for a number of years regards criminality as nothing but ' an outstanding sample—dangerous perhaps and extreme—of common childish naughtiness '.

This conclusion would be in accord with the psycho-analytic finding of there being no strict line of demarcation between the neurotic and the non-neurotic individual. To some extent Dr. Burt makes out his case by a comparison between delinquent and non-delinquent children ; the comparative tables on hereditary and environmental conditions and upon psychological conditions, including ' complexes ' and morbid emotional states, are suggestive, but the author himself is the first to recognize that these statistical measurements must not be regarded ' as anything more than simply compendious ways of summarizing our rough data '.

From this careful study we may conclude with Dr. Burt that crime is not inherited, that the young delinquent is neither a mental defective nor a psychotic (though he may be either) ; that although premature or excessive sex-development is not uncommon—in Burt's series it was found in 10 per cent. of the girls and in 4 per cent. of the boys—it is not a chief major cause ; physical defects are apparently more common among delinquent than among non-delinquent children, but again the possibility of common factors cannot be laid aside.

Quite a number of young delinquents come from vicious homes, from homes with poverty, bad companions and so on. On the other hand, probably the majority of medical practitioners and numbers of solicitors have helped to shield some child of the middle classes who if coming from a poor home might be counted among the young delinquents. In other words, nearly every child and a large number of young adults commit such juvenile offences as are included in Burt's Table I. ; to rob an apple-orchard is regarded as boyish human nature in some parts of the country, and so with the rest of the catalogue of offences. What child has not stolen jam out of the pantry, or pilfered sweets, whilst if conclusions from psycho-analytic investigations were accepted, ' sex-offences ' would rank even higher than they do in Dr. Burt's list for delinquents.

Now whilst a large proportion of children commit criminal offences, few become young delinquents, and this not because the others are not found out, are disciplined at home, or come from better-off conditions, although

any or all of these conditions may obtain, but because, after all, ' excessive childish naughtiness ' is not criminality. Dr. Burt begins to suspect this himself towards the end of the book ; on p. 552 he refers to one recurrent symptom in the history of the disaffected child as at least suggestive. We doubt indeed whether the symptom referred to can be regarded as pathognomic ; all that is written there would be equally applicable to normal children. Here we come upon the weakness of Dr. Burt's valuable work ; with his gift of psychological insight, with his sympathetic interest in children—naughty children, criminal children, even the young murderer of seven is described as a human being should be described—we have no thorough-going and detailed study of the mind of the young delinquent. The chapters on temperamental conditions, on habit, on sentiments and complexes, contain much that needs to be said especially to the non-technical audience Dr. Burt seems to have in view, but the statements are so general that they can be applied to any naughty child, to any ' nervy ' child. We want knowledge, real and detailed information, about the mind of a few delinquents and Dr. Burt, we feel, has the ability and the material to reduce the gaps in our ignorance.

The few careful psycho-analytic studies made upon the criminal (with which Dr. Burt does not seem to be familiar) have shown that the young delinquent is distinguished, paradoxically enough, by an unusually strong sense of guilt or shame. We may infer theoretically that the specific factor in the making of the young criminal will be found in a conflict between the super-ego and the instinctual impulses precipitated, owing to some common environmental condition at the time of character-formation, into the particular offence or offences.

Criminality would thus be regarded like perversions, as character formations that have taken the place of the neuroses and psychoses. Just as the invert has neurotic traits and is allied to the normal, so is the criminal.

I shall not excuse Dr. Burt's failure to give us detailed psychological studies of a few young delinquents by reason of his enormous care and preoccupation with therapeutic treatment ; we know these two aims can proceed side by side. It is here, however, that Dr. Burt is entitled to the utmost praise for a great many victories over enormous difficulties. He shows by well-authenticated instances how much may be accomplished by psychological understanding and by the practical ability to discover the environment suitable to the particular criminal. It is doubtful, however, whether psycho-analytic treatment could ever cure the delinquent once convicted and sentenced, though psychotherapy can do much to remove the symptoms as well as the possibilities of relapse if the young person is placed under proper conditions. Dr. Burt is rightly eclectic in his recommendations ; operations for the removal of physical defects, psychotherapy, special colonies, probation, voluntary homes, words in season to the parents and teachers. Prevention must be sought, on the one hand in further

understanding of the mind of the child, of the criminal, the neurotic, the psychotic, and on the other in an alteration of the environmental condition of both adults and children.

No careful reader of this book, where real knowledge is dressed in a lively and attractive style, can fail to ask : Would any more harm come to society were all the gaols demolished and the whole of the human forces engaged in detecting and punishing crime placed at the disposal of Dr. Burt for the prevention and treatment of crime than from the maintenance of the present system ? It is probable that there would be fewer crimes if there were fewer prisons, though this does not mean the disappearance of every criminal, for, as indicated above, we have not yet arrived at the factors that make the criminal character.

M. D. Eder.

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The Psychology of the Free Child. By Christabel M. Meredith. (Constable & Co., Ltd., London, 1924. Pp. 212. Price 5*s*. net.)

The Bearings of Modern Psychology on Educational Theory and Practice (Constable & Co., Ltd., London, 1924. Pp. 137. Price 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

The first comment to be made upon these two books is that they are written throughout as though the author were unaware of the existence of psycho-analysis, its theory and practice, a curious state of affairs in view of the fact that the title of the second book contains the phrase ' The Bearings of Modern Psychology '. It is indeed no small feat to write a book on such a theme without reference to Freud's discoveries, which must, surely, constitute some very large section of ' modern ' psychology. Nor is there evidence of knowledge, as far as can be seen, of any other recently set forth view, such as the Gestalt theory, for example. Both books consist of an exposition of present-day popular psychology in reference to the child's upbringing, learning-processes, emotional development, and, like that psychology, are characterized by some quite acceptable ideas (on a superficial level) mingled with a good deal of erroneous statement based on incomplete knowledge.

In *The Bearings of Modern Psychology on Educational Theory and Practice*, Part I, which deals with Instinct, its nature and modifications, Habits, Sentiments, and Suggestion, is too slight to be of great value to anyone, and much of the section deals with matter which must, by now, be very familiar to teachers and parents (e.g. that the young child will work with ardour and persistency at his own self-chosen pursuits rather than at those imposed upon him by authority ; that curiosity is a marked characteristic of the first stages of life ; that repetition of an activity is not necessarily mental development), certainly to the former, for whom the book would appear to be written. In Section II, which deals with Experiment in Education, Memory work, Adolescence and its special requirements, some useful pedagogical ideas are put forward, though again it has to be

noted that ignorance (or at any rate the ignoring) of psycho-analytic research vitiates much of this part, notably in reference to Adolescence and Sex-instruction.

One is grateful, however, for some dicta in the last chapter (' Special Studies in connection with Adolescence ', pp. 135–137) in reference to the teaching of the Arts, especially with Adolescent pupils, and to the significance of the adolescent stage for the human being ; they contain only part of the truth, as students of psycho-analysis will readily perceive, but a truth which most pedagogical books either dispute or ignore. In *The Psychology of the Free Child*, as in the volume already referred to, the weak portions are those which set out to give psychological theory (notably the chapter on ' Habit '), and the more useful sections are those dealing with practical problems of pedagogy, the best being Chapter X, on ' Æsthetic Expression '.

Barbara Low.

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A Pedagogue's Commonplace Book. By Edith Rowland. (Dent & Sons, Ltd., London. Pp. 240. Price 5*s*. net.)

Whatever may have been the motive that prompted this author to seek out and include in the compass of one small volume the wisdom of the educational experts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we tender her our most grateful thanks for the result. The book shows that, although we have taken to ourselves credit by imagining that it is an outcome of our latter-day enlightenment to have turned our attention to the important topic of the education of young children and have set ourselves the task of discovering what effects may be expected from this or that method and how mistakes that have been made lead to the most disastrous consequences, nevertheless we have done so falsely, for we have been by no means the pioneers of exploration in this region.

Most of us are inclined to believe that educational methods of the past were harsh, and that the only way of enforcing more diligent application to studies was the use of the rod. By Roger Ascham, however, we are assured of the contrary. ' Young children ', we read, ' should rather be allured to learning by gentilnes and love, then compelled to learning by beating and force '. Again, he writes, ' Where love is present, labor is seldom absent '. One after another we find these worthies endorsing the opinion that beating tends to make the stubborn child more obstinate, and that the school where a too rigorous discipline is in force will make of the boy a rebel and he will run away, thus injuring his character in such a way that it will be ' hard to remedie '. Psycho-analytic experts writing of the same matters have given voice to the same sentiments, although the language in which they have been expressed may differ in detail and technical terms.

Hezekiah Woodward, an education pioneer of the early seventeenth century, who has a more penetrating psychological insight into these problems than some of his contemporaries, not only explains that he has observed ' that the childe becomes more insolent under a rigorous hand ', and that force and violence hardens, whenas a loving and gentle persuasion wins the heart, thaws and melts the same ', but also suggests that character-traits of the parents are reflected in their children, for he reminds parents who wrathfully and injuriously punish their children that they are mal-treating their own image, ' it is certain truth a parent never sees his own revolting and stubborn heart more expressed to the life, than he may do in a stubborn childe : then he may see it as plainly as face in water answers face ; this is a weighty consideration, if it be put home '. Professor Freud, in his last book, *Das Ich und das Es*, proved to us that it is necessary for the boy to incorporate the manly qualities of his father, or father-surrogates, into the formation of his Ego-Ideal. This process, together with its cognates, identification and imitation, seems to have been equally familiar in the sixteenth century, for we find Sir Thomas Elyot advising, as though the idea were by no means a novelty, ' After a child be come to seven yeares of age, I holde it expedient that he be taken from the company of women . . . and to assign unto him a tutor . . . as nighe as can be such a one as the child by imitation followynge may grow to be excellent ', and further, he points out that in choosing a master, not only should his scholastic attainments be considered, but also if he ' is of sobre and vertuous disposition, specially chast of livyng and of moche affabilitie and patience ; lest by any unclene example the tender mynde of the child may be infected, hardly afterwards to be recovered '.

It is to Richard Mulcaster to whom the credit is due for so early recognizing that the aim of a child's training ' is the bringing up of one, not to live alone, but amongst others ', a truth which the psycho-analyst perhaps has more opportunity of realizing than many, because the failure of a child's environmental influence and early training, which is education in these tender years, is seldom so clearly demonstrated as when he is brought face to face with the neurotic's struggles to live amongst others, and he sees his utter incapacity to do so, except at the expense of enormous and devastating cost to his personality.

Only when we reach the chapter that deals with the education of girls do we realise the wide difference between the educational outlook of then and now. To find a present-day echo, or rather a survival of these sentiments, we should have to seek in the Unconscious Mind of Modern Man, or at least the recesses of his thoughts, where the passage of centuries leaves but little trace upon opinions or wishes. It is stated by most of the authorities, whose works have been already quoted in other sections of the book, that girls may be taught, but not too much, as it is unnecessary for them. The vocation of a woman is not that of a student, but to be of use for the

service and pleasure of man, ' after whom and for whom she was made ', and therefore they need no other learning or accomplishments than are needful for the ordering of his house, the rearing of his children, and the amusement and recreation of his guests.

This book will well repay careful reading by all interested in the absorbing topics of child-study or education, because here indeed do we see how one century busily occupies itself in re-discovering truths and theories that former industry evolved, but which an intermediate negligence allowed to slip into oblivion.

Mary Chadwick.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION.

COMMUNICATION OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

On December 25, 1925, Dr. Karl Abraham, the universally respected President of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, succumbed to an obdurate complaint against which he had fought bravely for six months with all his strength. Few members of our International Associations have been so widely known and so highly estimated as he was, so that it is certainly expressing the general feeling to say that the whole community of our Association has suffered a severe loss, from which it will be hard to recover.

After a discussion with those local Presidents who were present at the funeral ceremonies, Dr. Sandor Ferenczi from Budapest, Dr. Van Emden from The Hague, and Dr. Ernest Jones from London, also with the Council of the Central Executive, Drs. Hitschmann and Van Ophuijsen, and a subsequent talk with Professor Freud, it was decided that the Central Secretary should discharge the duties of Central President until the next Congress, which alone has the power of electing a new President. All matters concerning presidential duties should therefore be directed to Dr. Max Eitingon.

REPORT OF THE NINTH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL CONGRESS

The Ninth Psycho-Analytical Congress was held at Bad Homburg, near Frankfurt-am-Main, on September 3–5, 1925. Dr. Karl Abraham presided. The lively interest that brought representatives from all countries was evidence of the international character of the proceedings. The over-seas branches (the American and New York groups) were well represented, as also the London and Moscow Societies, and one member had even come from India. As usual, a large number came from the Central European countries. The total number of those present was 190, 95 of whom were members of the International Psycho-Analytical Association.

Professor Freud himself was again unable to be present, but he sent the manuscript of a paper, which was read by Fräulein Anna Freud at the opening of the scientific proceedings. This was an unexpected contribution from the founder of the movement, and the paper, which showed him to be still at the height of his creative power, was warmly welcomed by the Congress. On the evening before the Congress opened, members were entertained at the Kurhaus by the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society, when Dr. Abraham made a speech bidding them welcome to Germany.

Warmest thanks are due to Herr and Frau Dr. Landauer (Frankfurt-am-Main) and Frau Dr. Happel (Frankfurt-am-Main) for the excellent manner in which they carried out the local arrangements.

Scientific Meetings

Thursday, September 3, 1925. Morning.

1. Professor Dr. Sigmund Freud, Vienna: Certain Effects on the Mind of the Anatomical Difference between the Sexes.[1]

2. Dr. Karl Landauer, Frankfurt-am-Main: Automatisms, Obsessional Neurosis and Paranoia.

The speaker gave a number of illustrations to demonstrate how, during and in consequence of analysis, habits may develop into obsessional symptoms through the mobilization of the super-ego. In automatisms both the pleasure-object and the subject fall out; obsessive acts contain punishment side by side with pleasure. They represent a process of conversion but, in contrast to the hysterical symptom, the obsessional act is not a simple process—erection, but a complex one—gratification. Transformations of this sort are a necessary part of character-analysis and occur spontaneously in schizophrenia with the outbreak of acute disease. The peculiarities exhibited after the crises in these cases are outlines of hallucinatory, obsessional and paranoic symptoms in which subject and object are abolished. In obsessional ideas there is further the substitution of an autoplastic process for the alloplastic. As in obsessional symptoms, the erotogenic zones in automatisms are the oral, urethral, anal, muscular, rarely the genital. The direction of the attention towards them interrupts the automatic processes, paranoid mechanisms being interpolated, owing to the simultaneous presence of hostile impulses against observers and of narcissism. Both in taxis and praxis ontogenesis repeats the phylogenetic evolution, which led to the superimposing upon one another of the different centres of the central nervous system. The process of projection is the antithesis of automatization and, like that of obsessional neurosis, is designed to solve the same conflicts between death-wishes against the loved father and the omnipotence of thoughts. Hence in the same individual they are resolved successively or simultaneously. The same applies in the history of humanity, with its magical, ecclesiastical and materialistic epochs. Psycho-analysis aims at mastering the conflicts afresh and in such a way that the super-ego is deprived of its power and that the attempt is once more made to get rid of the father.

3. Dr. Trigant Burrow, Baltimore: The Laboratory Method in Psycho-analysis; Its Inception and Development.

The method of the laboratory is the method of consensual observation. This consensus of observation establishes the conditions for dependable scientific judgment in that it precludes the element of personal bias with respect to the data observed. In all subjective experiment the requisite condition for its proper conduct is the elimination of this personal equation

[1] This paper will appear in the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis.

and its necessarily deterring influence upon the observation of the processes in question.

With the development of Freud's thesis there was first introduced into science the possibility of a laboratory method with respect to the dynamic processes of man's mental life. But as psycho-analysis, consistent with its medical traditions, had its inception in a clinical approach, it was inevitable that psycho-analysis should adhere more and more to the method of the clinic and depart to the same degree from methods pertaining to the technique of the laboratory. After twelve years, however, devoted to the method of psycho-analysis as first developed by Freud, it became more and more apparent to me that the tendency of psycho-analysis had deviated so far from its original basis of research as to require very exacting processes of reconstruction to restore it to the scientific postulates that originally underlay Freud's basic discovery. Accordingly, it became the interest of my students and myself to place our emphasis upon methods that would insure a precision of laboratory technique consistent with the technique that was first inaugurated by Freud. With my associates I came to realize the necessity of applying under conditions of actual laboratory or group-analysis the method which Freud had developed in the treatment of individuals. With the growth of our work it became apparent that our processes of observation must be based upon methods involving a social or consensual laboratory technique as definite as that obtaining in the laboratories of biology. In the laboratory of the biological sciences the method of research has been extended to include social as well as individual processes. In the study of physical conditions the physician is no longer interested only in the individual patient but has broadened his inquiry to include the general social organism. Naturally, in a laboratory that investigates subjective states the difficulty of precise judgment lies in the inhibitions of the subjects whose states are submitted to the critical test of analysis. These inhibitions constitute the personal equation which must be excluded if the experiment is to proceed without bias to its aims. This is the problem the group comprised of myself and my students have attempted to meet in the actual situation of our common subjective analysis.

4. Dr. Imre Hermann, Budapest: Regressions in the Orientation of the Ego.

The evidence of the senses, as a basis of orientation of the ego, plays a similar part to that played by the instincts in relation to the *id*. The ' lower ' modes of sense-perceptions may, from the point of view of method, be ranked with the pregenital component-instincts. The predominance of this or that kind of sense-perception corresponds to the primacy of the leading erotogenic zones and the centres of libidinal organization. Regressions in orientation of the ego correspond to regressions from the reality-principle to the pleasure-principle, for in these we have the reappearance of the ' lower ' modes of sense-perception, in which orientation takes place

directly through pleasure and pain. These regressions start from the dominance of perception by sight and hearing and pass to orientation by smell and finally by temperature. Both these 'lower' modes of sense-perception contain some primitive conception of reality. Parallel 'inter-personal orientation' must be reckoned amongst perceptual orientations. Where there is regressive predominance of a lower perceptual orientation there also reappears the corresponding 'inter-personal orientation'. Corresponding to the primacy of the sense of smell we have mistrust, a craving for and a fear of self-exposure.

5. Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen, The Hague: Some Observations on the Origin of Sadism.

(*a*) If we disentangle true sadistic phenomena from their associative connections with the manifestations of hatred and sexual aggression, it appears to be incorrect to regard sadism as a form of cruelty.

(*b*) The sexual aims of sadism are activities designed for destruction (or mastery) and defilement, regardless of the feelings of the object, which is treated rather as something inanimate.

(*c*) The original form of sadistic destruction is that of tearing to pieces with the teeth; hence it belongs to the second oral phase of development.

6. Dr. Georg Groddeck, Baden-Baden: Psycho-Analysis and the *Id*.

The individual *id* of the human being comprises conscious and unconscious and that which is incapable of entering consciousness, the somatic and the mental, the ego and the instincts. All the processes and phenomena of life are expressions of this *id*.

Psycho-analysis is of inestimable value as a method of investigating the *id*. In the future, if analysis ceases to concern itself only with what is called, in the language of science and of every day, the mind, and applies itself to all forms of the *id*, it will become indispensable to every physician. It is in the first place highly desirable that surgery and medicine should make use of this instrument of research. As a method of treatment psycho-analysis will always be subject to limitations, because it can find the way to the *id* only by means of cerebral activity on the part of the patient, because it cannot directly reach the material which is incapable of entering consciousness, and finally because it often works slowly. The same, however, applies in certain circumstances to all other methods of treatment.

Thursday, September 3, 1925. Afternoon.

1. Dr. Otto Rank, Vienna: The Genesis of Genitality.[1]

2. Dr. S. Ferenczi, Budapest: Contra-indications against Active Technique in Psycho-Analysis.

In this paper, which is based on the experience of many years, the speaker endeavoured to make rather clearer what are the conditions in which active treatment is indicated. His main point was that it is indicated only in a very restricted number of cases. He discussed the relation of

[1] This paper will be published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*.

active technique to the transference and to resistance and the possible therapeutic disadvantages which it may entail. He laid down drastic limitations for the cases in which the setting of a term is advisable and proceeded to mark out the boundaries between this technique and certain recent theoretical formulations (the trauma of birth). Finally he demonstrated the further advances which have been made in our knowledge by the direct help of active technique.

3. Dr. Franz Alexander, Berlin : Neurosis and the Whole Personality.

The path taken by psycho-analysis in its development has led from the knowledge of manifestations of the libido to the understanding of the ego as a whole. In the first instance the object of enquiry was the repressed material ; at the present time our researches are constantly investigating the institution in the mind which effects repression. In taking this line psycho-analysis encounters peculiarly strong resistances. We know that the neurotic symptom is the result of an unsuccessful repression. The repressive faculty is to blame for the failure of repression. Its repressive activity has miscarried. With the unmasking of the nature of this failure we reach the heart of the formation of neurosis. In neurosis the repressive faculty—the super-ego—enters into a secret alliance with the repressed instincts. The part played by the super-ego in the formation of neurosis is two-fold. Its excessive severity and its attempt to repress too much have made the dynamic pressure of the repressed material more powerful and, secondly, by inflicting punishments (self-punishment mechanisms) it facilitates the breaking-through of that material, for *suffering* removes the inhibiting feelings of guilt. This dynamic-economic relation between suffering and symptom-formation is illustrated by the obsessional neurosis, in manic-depressive states, in hysteria, by neurotic character-traits and, finally, by dreams in series. The result of these investigations and considerations is of importance for our theory, in that it requires a correction of the explanation of symptom-formation hitherto given. It is not an adequate explanation to say that in the symptoms the forbidden meaning is disguised, symbolically or otherwise, for the repressive faculty understands the hidden meaning, as appears beyond all question in the unconscious need for punishment. We must assume as well an economic factor : a weakening in the repressive faculty. The super-ego's power of moral inhibition is weakened by its excessive severity and by the punishment-system, while the centrifugal pressure of the two narrowly restricted instincts gains in strength.

The result of this economic displacement of forces is the neurotic symptom. Here we are confronted with the problem of health : we have to explain how it is that the repressive faculty passes without any guilt-reactions the sublimations which have their origin in the Œdipus complex. For we have seen that the mere disguising of the meaning does not suffice to put the censorship out of action. We find the solution of this problem

if we follow out the train of thought initiated by Freud and Sachs in reference to the relation of the art of literature to neurotic phantasy. The feelings of guilt are resolved by the social factor, the positive effect upon others. In neurosis the inhibiting effect of the sense of guilt is got rid of by suffering, in normal sublimations by action directed to social ends.

4. Dr. L. Pierce Clark, New York: The Phantasy Method of Analysing Narcissistic Neuroses. (A Preliminary Communication.)

As an introduction to an exposition of the application of what the author has termed the phantasy-method, which he has used to analyse narcissistic conditions, an account is given of the development of the mother-and-child relationship in the formation of primary and secondary narcissism. Up to the present no thoroughgoing procedure for analysing the condition of narcissism has received general approval or investigation. The author presents a large clinical material of individual analyses to show that he has made a successful beginning in the phantasy-analysis of cases of melancholia, dypsomania, essential epilepsy, confirmed stammerers and general narcissistic neuroses without specific category. He makes no contention that the phantasied material produced by the patients is a facsimile of actual memories of infantile experience, but he does maintain that these phantasies throw a flood of light upon the affective attitudes during these infantile reactions to adapting to the mother-relationship of infantile life and the integration of character and personality consequent thereto. He uses the material thus produced for a specific analysis in the same manner as free association or dream-material which passes through the same method of use as in ordinary psycho-analysis.

Friday, September 4, 1925. Morning.

1. Dr. J. H. Coriat, Boston: The Oral-erotic Components of Stammering.

The problem of stammering can be understood only when we have analysed the different levels of ego- and libido-development from the pregenital organization to the formation of character in the adult. We must in addition investigate analytically the motor symptoms in the speech of the stammerer. In many ways they closely resemble the tics. The stammerer displays oral character-traits, whilst stammering itself represents one form of the oral-erotic tendencies belonging to the pregenital phase of development, or an arrest both on the sucking and on the cannibalistic level in the life of the adult. All stammerers display the oral reactions of sucking in their ' tic '-like modes of speech. Stammering in itself is really a form of gratification of oral libido.

2. Dr. Wilhelm Reich, Vienna: The Structure and Genesis of ' Hypochondriacal Neurasthenia '.

Freud has observed that the psychoneuroses are built up round a nucleus of actual neurosis. We may ask whether, conversely, there

may be also a psychoneurotic nucleus at the heart of the actual neuroses.

In diagnosing neurasthenia we have to distinguish an acute from a chronic type. The acute form, which displays the symptoms of restlessness, irritability, distaste for work, fatigue, etc., is met with not only in persons practising onanism to excess (as Freud at one time stated), but also where there is inhibition during sexual intercourse and sometimes in persons practising complete abstinence. In cases of onanism this type of neurasthenia appears only if the subject is inhibited *during* the act by a sense of guilt. It can be shown that acute neurasthenia arises when the physiological flow of stimulus is interrupted and the orgastic pleasure is abruptly broken up. It is therefore the direct somatic consequence of a sexual inhibition, which in its turn must itself have a psychical etiology.

In chronic neurasthenia, which also regularly shows the symptoms of *ejaculatio præcox*, obstinate constipation and a sense of pressure on the head, there is also ' orgastic impotence ' ; in this form of the disease onanism is entirely pregenital in character. It corresponds to a primary pregenital fixation ; its ' repressed ' object-relations are of an oral, urethral and anal nature, while the subject displays infantile and feminine character-traits. The strong anal erotism is betrayed not only by the constipation ; anal qualities are in addition displaced on to the head (pressure on the head, thoughts as fæces), while even the penis itself seems to have a cathexis of anal libido (anal ejaculatio præcox). As in hysteria the pregenital erotogenic zones are genitalized, so in this form of neurasthenia the genital organ becomes cathected with pregenital libido. Nevertheless, genital predominates over direct pregenital erotism and the reaction-formations characteristic of obsessional neurosis are absent.

Hypochondria is the direct consequence of orgastic impotence. It results from the diffusion and damming-up throughout the body of genital libido which has failed to find any mental presentation, and it vanishes if we succeed in causing the genital libido to be once more discharged by way of the genital organs.

The cure must take as its starting-point the fragments of genital object-relation which remain. The prognosis depends on the strength of these object-relations.

3. Dr. Otto Fenichel, Berlin : Clinical Implications of the Need for Punishment.

The speaker quoted two cases in which he had an opportunity of observing the genesis of the complicated relations between the demand of the *id* for instinctual gratification, the demand of the super-ego for punishment and the attitude of the ego towards both. The first case was of the type characterized by the ' sadism of the super-ego '. The need for punishment was vividly in consciousness and gave rise to a series of condensations of act and punishment. For instance, the patient tried to

' retroject ' his super-ego back to that point in the outside world from which it had proceeded, in order thus to gain relief from the pressure of his super-ego. The second patient was a ' moral masochist '. His punishment-activities were sexualized and were based on a marked turning of sadistic impulses against the self and on an inversion of the normal Œdipus complex. His sense of guilt was a ' borrowed ' one, originating in an unsuccessful identification with the father. The speaker described the mechanism of this ' borrowed guilt ' and the way in which it was utilized by the libido. The first patient had introjected the mother into the ego and super-ego (in the latter both positively and negatively) ; in the second the introjection of the mother into the ego was opposed by a paternal super-ego, and his self-punishments were the intra-psychic continuation of quarrels between his parents. Clinically, the feelings of guilt represent the death-instinct, but in neurosis they are always fused with sexual impulses, and it is these which analysis must attack.

4. Dr. S. E. Jelliffe, New York : Organic Disease as Symbolic Castration. (Myopia as illustration.)

5. Dr. C. Müller-Braunschweig, Berlin : Desexualization, Identification and the Direction of Libido.

(*a*) Desexualization. Freud has shown how sexual object-libido is converted into narcissistic libido by identification with the object. The speaker amplified this statement by indicating that there are certain processes by which auto-erotic libido is desexualized through identification with the erotogenic zones and organs of the subject's own body and the excitations connected with these.

(*b*) Identification. The processes of identification were discussed from the dynamic, the topographical and the economic point of view. From the point of view of topography these processes may take place in all the psychic systems : in the ego, in the super-ego and in the repressed and unrepressed Ucs. The paper dealt with the complicated topography of early infantile identifications.

The speaker treated the economics of identification in connection with the topography and economics of the state of being in love, hypnosis, sleep and other phenomena.

(*c*) The question of direction. Libidinal and other psychic processes pass from a subjective to an objective image. The speaker gave an illustration of the application of the standpoint of ' direction ' which has been already implicitly assumed but not hitherto explicitly formulated. The products of introversion (imagos) differ from those of introjection or identification in the direction taken by the libido ; the imagos are objective images, while the products of identification are subjective images.

(*d*) Scope of the processes of identification. Not only are objects introjected but also relations, whole dramas, so to speak. The most

important drama is that of parental coitus. The question of ' direction ' of libido is of importance in the introjection of this drama.

Saturday, September 5, 1925. Morning.

1. Dr. J. van Emden, The Hague: The Meaning of the Spider in Symbolism and Folklore.

The speaker told of the ' anamitories ' (spider stories) of the negroes of the Gold Coast and the West Indies and quoted fragments from the analysis of a patient who had a phobia of spiders and whose attitude towards them was highly ambivalent. A peculiar tic of the left hand was determined by an identification with the spider, which stood to him for persons belonging to the father-series and, because of the spider's habit of sitting on walls, for a picture of the all-seeing mother and for the mother herself.

Apart from various genital meanings the spider also symbolized a hand which has been cut off and has an independent life of its own and runs about quickly; as a castrating instrument it terrified him and was associated with paræsthesias in the testicles (anami = spider = formication). In the transference the analyst was regarded as a spider who sat there motionless lying in wait, for when there were important associations he seized on and took possession of them, and also financially he sucked the patient dry.

2. Dr. Géza Róheim, Budapest: The Scapegoat.

3. Dr. Theodor Reik, Vienna: The Origin of Psychology.

The strange antithesis in psychology between ego-subject and ego-object (the ' I ' observes the ' me ') finds its genetic explanation in the fact of the child's being observed by its parents. The passive experience of the child is carried on in a reflexive one. Criticism by the outside world is fraught with consequences for this division of inner perception; the ego-consciousness is derived from the entrance into preconsciousness of the attitude of the outside world towards the ego. Repression is the necessary condition of psychological research. The super-ego is the mute cicerone in the subterranean realms of mental life. The part played by the super-ego in the genesis of psychology is a decisive one; psychological science was originally engaged in the service of the repressive forces and was designed to secure the maintenance of repression. Later, it entered the service of the opposing forces of the *id*, and took for its aim the removal of repression. Moreover, the super-ego lends the ego the power to remove repression. Psychology, which had come to stand for establishing a mental alibi, is becoming once more a means of bringing about the unification of the personality.

4. Dr. O. Pfister, Zürich: The Psychology of Intolerance.

The factor of fanaticism which is contained in all intolerance may always be traced to repressions, of which that of the Œdipus wish, that of narcissism (castration-dread) and that of sadism play the most important part. Accordingly, we often recognize in intolerance an over-compensation

for hatred of the father. Passionate intolerance of the conservative type often conceals a desire to assuage a feeling of guilt, due to hate-tendencies, by submitting to the father's conviction and assimilating oneself to the father. Revolutionary intolerance, on the other hand, generally represents a combating of the father in his conviction; here the intolerant person himself assumes the father-rôle. Often, however, jealous love and hatred in relation to the mother also find expression in intolerance; the factor of guilt augments the sum of affect reposed in her. The subject's narcissism sees itself threatened in its sublimations by the heretic, for the latter embodies the tendencies repressed by the ego and represents the subject's own renunciations as unnecessary and the sublimations attained at the cost of sacrifice as superfluous or even valueless. Thus it is repressed but still virulent tendencies of the ego which are hated in the heretic. In intolerance there is always envy and uncertainty.

In the genesis of intolerance we find that the processes of regression to an infantile over-estimation of authority and often to an atavistic sadism play a part, so too an accentuation of the vital urge (with the advantage of an increase in energy and the disadvantage of narrow-mindedness) and a loss of love in consequence of an expenditure of energy in obsessional formations.

From the biological point of view intolerance reveals itself as an attempt to escape neurosis. The ideas and actions of the intolerant person would, if they occurred in isolation, often be regarded as morbid. A belief which has its origin in powerful repressions and is far removed from love seeks hungrily for proselytes, in order to escape the odium of neurosis. The infidel is hated because he repudiates fellowship of soul and so increases the danger of neurosis.

From the point of view of individual psychology, then, intolerance is a partly unsuccessful attempt at sublimation, the abhorred repressed but still active tendencies being persecuted in another. From the point of view of biology it is an attempt to escape neurosis by an artificial fellowship. From the point of view of social psychology it is a frustrated offer of love.

In a certain sense every neurosis may be looked upon as an individual intolerance and all intolerance as a 'social neurosis'. Accordingly, the only way in psycho-analysis to overcome either is by the re-integration of love.

5. Dr. M. D. Eder, London: A Contribution to the Psychology of Snobbishness.

The cause of a particular character-trait must be found in (*a*) some specific agent or group of elements—a constellation—and (*b*) quantitative action. Hardly any work bearing on the second condition has been hitherto carried out; this paper is an endeavour to fulfil the first condition.

Such studies must be based on a thorough understanding of the family relationship; it must never be forgotten that the environment for any two

children of the same parents was not the same, not even in the case of twins.

After brief reference to possible historical grounds for the origin of this trait in the early nineteenth century and on account of its popularization by the publication of Thackeray's *Book of Snobs* in 1848, it was pointed out that though England was the classic land of snobbishness the word as well as the trait had spread into European countries and was not unknown in the United States. Accepting the dictionary definition of a snob as one who meanly seeks to associate with those of superior rank or wealth, or who wishes to be regarded as a person of social importance, it must be recognized that it is a narcissistic character-trait; a person who seeks this association for some utilitarian end is not a snob. Reference was made to Hardy's novel, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, in support of this view as well as to crude schoolboy psychology. Selecting from the extensive English romantic literature where snobbishness is portrayed Thackeray's *Pendennis* and George Meredith's *Evan Harrington*, it was shown that in both novels the hero was impelled to associate with those above him in rank through a super-ego founded on identification with the father, but that in both cases the super-ego founded on libidinal identification with the mother interfered. Further, both authors had described a difference in rank between the parents of the snobbish heroes. The speaker's attention had been directed to this character-trait by the analyses of two persons in whom snobbishness played a prominent part. In one case it was an inconvenient trait, but in the other it assumed all the features of a neurotic symptom. Of course in neither case was it the cause of bringing the patient under treatment. As it happened neither person was English: A. came from one of the great British democratic dominions and the other from a part of the Commonwealth long in opposition to England. A brief account of their analyses in so far as they related to snobbishness showed in both cases:

(*a*) Pregenital identification with the mother;

(*b*) Super-ego founded on identification with the father;

(*c*) A difference in rank of parents (real or imaginary) discovered at stage of character-formation, i.e. in early childhood.

This constellation is regarded as specific for snobbishness. The snob is never completely successful in his aim, i.e. he does not associate easily with persons of higher social rank than himself (unlike many persons who have risen from humble birth) because he is ever swaying between two divergent libidinal and ego impulses (father-mother).

Business Meetings

I. Preliminary Discussion of the Question of Analytical Training.

Thursday, September 3, 1925. *Evening*

In the name of the Committee of the International Psycho-Analytical Association Dr. Eitingon had invited delegates from the Branch Societies

to a conference on the whole problem of analytical training and especially on the plan of forming an international training organization, in order that there might be a uniform system of psycho-analytical instruction in different countries. The object of the conference was to discuss the matter in detail and to prepare a resolution for the General Meeting.

The Branch Societies of the International Psycho-Analytical Association were represented by some forty members. Dr. Ferenczi was in the chair.

Dr. Eitingon opened the proceedings with an address as follows: 'I should like to introduce the present important discussion on the problem of psycho-analytical training by laying down certain proposals for which I will then try to give good grounds.

'(*a*) Psycho-analytical training ought no longer to be left to the private initiative of individuals.

'(*b*) When a candidate presents himself for training, at least the Psycho-Analytical Society of the country in which he lives must collectively make itself responsible for him. For this purpose the different countries ought to provide Institutes, to be run, *mutatis mutandis*, on the same lines and as far as possible of the same type. It therefore seems to us best for the International Psycho-Analytical Association authoritatively to make regulations for training.

'(*c*) Instructional analysis is the most important part of the training but it does not constitute the whole. It is absolutely essential that we should demand and give opportunity for further training, including, above all, the conducting of analyses under supervision.

'(*d*) We should like in future to lay down, as a deduction from these three statements with regard to training, that, as a general rule, those who wish to practise psycho-analysis must have completed the whole training before they can become members of the International Psycho-Analytical Association. This would do away with the troublesome problem of certificates or diplomas.

'The splendid internal development of the psycho-analytical movement, the magnificent way in which our Congresses have enlarged their numbers, as we note with satisfaction once more this year, and the steady development of our Institutes and our Press must not lead us to forget that a constantly increasing part of what is called the psycho-analytical movement goes on outside the International Psycho-Analytical Association. This is inevitable, for the movement is already too wide and too multifarious to be comprehended in a strongly centralized group like our own. This fact has its good side. Nevertheless, it is the more important for us to bear in mind the fundamental aim of our Association, which is to foster and to promote the body of psycho-analytical doctrine founded by Freud, both as pure psychology and in its applications to medicine and the mental sciences. The latter point is what specially interests us here. It is the duty of our Association to be ceaselessly diligent in maintaining and

developing that which Freud has created, to guard it from a premature fusion and so-called synthesis with other fields of thought and different methods of investigation and work, and ever to give clear definition to that which is specifically our own. Now the fate of our work is in the hands of our successors, and it is to them more and more that we must turn our attention. We must endeavour to meet this our most pressing need by making suitable provision.

'This purpose is, however, far less difficult of execution than would appear. Seven years ago, at the Fifth International Psycho-Analytical Congress in Budapest, Dr. Nunberg, a member of the Vienna Society, first proposed that in future every analyst should himself have been analysed—a demand which most of us thought could never be realized. And yet since then it has become a matter of course, *extra muros etintra*.

'The scope of psycho-analytical knowledge and efficiency is now such that it is only collectively that the requirements for training can be adequately met. Of course I need not point out that throughout our discussion we are leaving Freud himself, with whom no one else can be compared, entirely on one side. The training ought to be undertaken by Institutes which either already exist or will have to be founded by the Branch Societies. In Berlin and Vienna such Institutes are already at work, London has drawn up a programme for a Psycho-Analytical Institute, and the valiant little Budapest Society has already a Training Committee. You are already familiar with the regulations for training at the Berlin Institute, and the last number of the *Zeitschrift* published the programme of the Vienna Training Institute, whose system is largely in agreement with ours. The whole course of training (I am speaking only of training for the practice of therapeutic psycho-analysis) should be deputed to committees chosen and controlled by the separate Branch Societies and invested with full authority. Individual members of the Association, apart from these committees, ought to refrain from undertaking the training of analysts on their own responsibility and should leave such training to the committees.

'The International Psycho-Analytical Association should as far as possible work out a standard of uniform principles and should exact the same qualifications for the training of candidates, though at the same time local peculiarities must be taken into consideration. The Training Committees of the separate Branches would have in the first instance to decide whether the candidates presenting themselves were personally suitable. They would then have to appoint a number of analysts who seemed to them competent to conduct instructional analysis and would have to make definite plans for the rest of the training and, above all, to try to put them into practice.

'As regards the other parts of the training, to-day—seven years after the Budapest Congress—it must be plain to us that, while it is a *sine qua non*

that anyone who wishes to become an analyst should be analysed himself, this instructional analysis alone does not actually qualify him for the work, especially if we assign to this part of his training a period of time which is in practice inadequate. I will not here enter any further into the problem of the technique of instructional analysis. There is really no question of an essentially special technique, for instructional analysis is simply psycho-analysis, and there is only one psycho-analytic technique, namely, the correct one. The point in which instructional or didactic analysis differs from therapeutic analysis (I must ask for your indulgence if I am obliged to emphasize trivialities) is not in having a special technique but, as we say in Berlin, in having an additional aim, which supersedes or goes hand in hand with the therapeutic aim. I mean that during a didactic analysis the analysand should at the same time also be acquiring theoretical knowledge.

'I will not dwell any longer on this point, because I wish to lay special emphasis upon another phase of the training which hitherto has not received sufficient consideration. I need only touch upon the question of theoretical training, for that question is in itself a simpler one. If a good systematic plan of lectures and seminars is drawn up for the candidates and they are grouped in suitable classes according to the stage they have reached, it will be quite possible to deal with and transmit to them the further knowledge of analysis which is necessary. If the teaching staff is a good one, and especially if its members are as far as possible in agreement, it will be so much the easier.

'Thus in his own analysis and in lectures the student can learn a great deal, but there is one thing which he cannot learn in this way—I mean, how to apply to living patients that which he has learnt in himself and from lectures and books, that is to say, how to recognize in patients what he already knows and not to be led astray. Now the part of the training which I specially wish to emphasize here is that of practical work under direction. Obviously, this can be carried out best and to the most considerable extent only in Out-patient Clinics, but in a lesser degree it is independent of the existence of such clinics.

'Here in Berlin we have had plenty of opportunity to see how helpless, when confronted with a patient, the analyst who comes straight from his so-called complete analysis as a rule is. We can distinguish different types of inadequacy, and even the best instructional analysts often cannot adequately guard against them.

'We find that in our students all the earlier stages of psycho-analytic technique which have been discarded as erroneous by analysis in its maturer form (I would remind you of the excellent criticism of these stages made by Ferenczi in the *Entwicklungsziele* by Ferenczi and Rank) are revived and flourish ontogenetically, with an accretion of many new individual defects —new creations which have their origin in the personal idiosyncrasies of

the budding analyst and fragments and derivatives of the complexes which have been worked at in himself in his instructional analysis. Under the guidance of an experienced analyst all these can soon be got rid of or sometimes even turned to good account.

'Some of the more gifted students accept *en bloc* the technique of their own analyst, which they have carefully observed, but they follow him too slavishly, and do not realize that the particular line taken by their own individual analysis, and its concrete features, have been largely determined by the peculiarities of the object, that is, of themselves. The student who appears to be faithfully copying his instructor enters on therapeutic analysis as a quite naïve "solipsist", who has still to acquire that knowledge, by no means easy to come by, which supplements the Indian *ta twam asi*: The patient on the sofa before you is not you yourself.

'Then there is another group of students: those who are too diffident and too ready to wait. They display an excess of caution and anxiety, which naturally carries with it the risk that they will let slip the moments in which the real analysis of the individual case must actually begin.

'It is quite understandable that beginners who have no material for comparison should be specially at a loss as regards the tempo of analyses. They are not sure what constitutes advance, progress and development in the particular analysis which they are conducting; they are uncertain how it is moving and sometimes whether it is moving at all. And yet they have already experienced the beginning and the progress of at least one analysis, namely, their own. You can surely imagine how chimerical the conception of the end of an analysis is to the beginner at first, because for practical reasons it is by no means certain that he has experienced what it means to finish an analysis. And yet, in order to make a good beginning, we mortals must be able to form some idea or arrive at some definition of the end of what we begin.

'The beginner in analysis can only learn all this in time and by roundabout ways, which are too long and too costly (especially for the patient). Moreover, there is a great danger that the mistakes and lack of skill of his first independent work will, either directly or by their over-compensation for them, develop into constitutional defects.

'You will admit that one can only regard with anxiety the progress of a young colleague who, after being analysed for six months, sets up as an analyst in a town where he is quite alone or at best has only a single colleague, himself not fully trained. With a cry of distress he turns to the Council of his particular Branch Society with a request that they will lend him, a mere tyro, support by some contact with the group—he would like sometimes to come to the meetings, etc., etc., for in the place where he has settled there is no psycho-analytical literature and no stimulus.

'This young analyst probably has not the least idea of how much he lacks, and, in particular, he does not know that he can never acquire what

he needs in any adequate degree by entering into a loose relationship with a Branch Society.

'Instead of this, he ought to go, as it were, into a psycho-analytical workshop and enter into a longer and firmer relationship of work and study with an experienced, independent analyst, as his apprentice, his assistant or, I would rather say, his journeyman. For the work of therapeutic psycho-analysis is so exact and demands such an unexampled expenditure of time and personal effort that I know of no better comparison than that of the fine old handicraft guilds, which have been crushed out of existence only by the modern laboratory, the modern national schools and the modern factory.

'We have already more than once described the method of analysis under supervision as practised at our Berlin Institute. Our experience in this respect has been very happy. We lay much less stress on the idea that it must be done exactly in this way and in no other than on the fact that it must be regarded as an indispensable part of the training. The procedure of the analyst supervising the beginner is of course quite different from that of the analyst who conducted his instructional analysis. The former can show him that he is making mistakes and what it would be better to do and, in relation to or by deduction from the material afforded by the patient or patients, can acquaint him with the results of the latest research. When the supervisor knows the beginner better, he will easily be able to show him why he makes mistakes, that is to say, in what complexes in himself they originate. And thus he helps him to carry on his own analysis at the same time in certain points. For the young analyst who has learnt things for himself for the sake of others now learns from others for himself. In this connection the question arises whether we in Berlin are right in our principle that the same analyst should not conduct the instructional analysis of the candidate and later supervise him in the practical part of his training. Some of the members of the Vienna Society have objected that whoever has analysed the candidate will be the most suitable person to supervise him, for he is acquainted with the complexes of his former analysand. But, as I have already said, the supervising analyst will soon detect such mistakes of the beginner as arise from his complexes. Besides, mistakes are not made only because of still unresolved complexes. There is, further, the very obvious and important fact that, as even we analysts of long-standing must confess, analysis is a very difficult art. (This art is long and the instructional analysis is short.) In laying down the principle which we follow in Berlin we were also specially influenced by the consideration that the beginner ought to see more than one individual analyst at work.

'Our methods of training have well stood the test of nearly five years. I now invite discussion of them.'

Dr. Eitingon's speech was received with great applause and was followed by a discussion, lasting nearly three hours, in which the following members

took part: Drs. Jones, Glueck, Oberndorf, Simmel, Stern, Federn, Sachs, Radó, Bernfeld, Eitingon, Ferenczi and Coriat. Finally, when all those present had signified their agreement with the essential points in Dr. Eitingon's proposals, the President asked Dr. Radó to bring forward a resolution in this sense at the General Meeting.

Friday, September 4, 1925. Afternoon

GENERAL MEETING

The President, Dr. Abraham, read the report of the Committee. He referred to the periodical report which appears in the Bulletin of the Association and added that the membership had increased in a highly satisfactory manner: the Association now numbered three hundred members. He spoke of the heavy losses sustained by the Association since the last Congress through the death of Dr. J. Varendonck (Ledeberg-Gand, Belgium) and Frau Dr. Hermine Hug-Hellmuth (Vienna) and asked the meeting to stand in silence as a tribute to the deceased.

The General Secretary, Dr. Eitingon, read the financial report. The previous Committee handed over £115. The income of the Association (members' subscriptions) amounted to 3,739 marks, the expenditure (on the Bulletin and the organization of the Congress) to 1,552 marks, so that there was a balance of 2,187 marks. The report was adopted.

Dr. Wulff gave a short account of the work of the Moscow Society.

The President read a communication from Dr. E. Weiss (Trieste) on the plans for founding a Branch Society in Italy.

Direktor Storfer read the following report of the *Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag*:

'The fact that the agenda of this official business meeting includes a report of the *Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag*, which, legally speaking, is entirely independent of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, is good evidence that there is an intellectual, one might even say a moral, bond of union between the Association, which represents the psycho-analytical movement as a whole, and the *Psychoanalytischer Verlag*. It is a matter for congratulation that this agreement in essentials transcends our independent organization. The dependence of the *Verlag* on the Association is not due simply to the fact that the lives and the work of those associated with the *Verlag* are indissolubly connected with psycho-analysis, but also to the fact that the whole work of the *Verlag* is carried on under the eyes of the Association and to some extent under its control. You will, I am sure, bear witness to the sincerity of our endeavour to work in sympathy with your aims, in spite of all the resistance which psycho-analysis encounters, and to contribute our utmost in our publications towards the promotion of psycho-analytical research and the psycho-analytical movement. Perhaps we shall not be over-estimating our function if we say that the *Verlag* is becoming more and more a central organ of the psycho-

analytical movement. It would be a serious omission if I did not refer here to the voluntary co-operation of a number of friends and of the Branch Societies of our International Association. And this emboldens us to remark that in many quarters, unfortunately, there is evidence of a certain indifference towards the work of the *Verlag*, and it would be an excellent thing if those members of the Association who themselves realize that that which concerns the *Verlag* concerns psycho-analysis would try to convert their more indifferent fellow-members to the same view. (There is a little table which members of the Congress have helped to draw up recording somewhat crudely seven definite wishes which the *Verlag* has constantly to bring before the members).

'It is unnecessary to speak in detail of our publishing work. The current number of the *Zeitschrift* (XI, 3) gives an account of the recent work of the *Verlag*, and on the last eighty pages of the Almanack, now published for the first time, you will find a connected picture of its activities during the six years in which it has been in existence.

'There is, however, one of our publications which must be mentioned by name. The most important and most honourable task of the *Verlag* has been to collect in a simple uniform edition the lifework of the founder of psycho-analysis—the writings which have appeared at various times and in various places—and to embody them in a worthy form. Of the eleven volumes of the *Gesamtausgabe* (Collected Works) of Freud which we have planned, nine have already appeared. I may confide to you to-day that the work will probably run to more than eleven volumes. Knowing as we do that Freud's creative powers show no falling off, we have no reason to restrict his collected works beforehand to any particular compass.

'There is one point in which there is a concrete, legal relation between the Association and the *Verlag*. The latter publishes the two periodicals which, together with the English JOURNAL, are the official organs of the Association. As you know, it is obligatory for all members to subscribe either to the English or to the two German journals. So far, nobody has expressed a wish or made a suggestion to alter this relation between the Association and the journals. In accordance with earlier resolutions of the Congress the cost of printing the official Bulletin which appears in our journals is refunded to the *Verlag* by the General Committee.

'I would close this short report by expressing the hope that the efforts of the *Verlag* may not be in vain and that it may continue to extend its activity without hindrance in the service of the psycho-analytical movement and psycho-analytical research.'

Dr. Rickman gave an account of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis founded in London in January, 1925. The Institute has organized courses of lectures and set up a library and hopes soon to be able to open an Out-Patient Clinic.

Dr. Ferenczi spoke of the prospects of founding a Psycho-Analytical

Institute in Budapest and described the provisional organization for instruction, created by the Hungarian Society for the training of candidates.

Dr. Eduard Hitschmann, Director of the Out-Patient Clinic of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society, gave the following report:

'The Out-Patient Clinic, which has now been in existence for more than three years, is glad to report that it has been visited by a large number of patients. In the period covered by the report these numbered 304: 182 men and 122 women. Of these 59 belonged to the labouring classes, 77 were officials or persons employed in trade, 29 students, 10 graduates, 14 children and scholars, 69 housewives and people of no occupation, 9 teachers; 32 had independent professions, and there were 3 soldiers and 2 servants. The classification according to diagnosis was as follows: cases of impotence, 36; anxiety-hysteria, 32; depression, 27; neurosis of embarrassment (including ereuthyphobia), 23; hysteria, 21; obsessional neurosis, 21; hypochondria, 16; frigidity (including vaginismus), 14; onanism, 11; neurasthenia, 9; manifest homosexuality, 8; inability to work, 8; perversion, 7; organic illness, 7; psychopathia, 6; ejaculatio præcox, 6; schizophrenia, 6; impediment in speech (including stammering), 5; headache, 5; irritability (including mental conflict), 5; epilepsy, 5; sexual disturbance, 3; occupational neurosis, 3; inhibited homosexuality, 3; psychogenic tic, 3; psychogenic fluor, 2; organ neurosis, 2; climacteric cases, 2; paranoia, 2; and one case each of moral insanity, agrypnia, bronchial asthma, caput obstipum, cocainism and alcoholism. Eighty patients were recommended for treatment; of these 10 did not come, 12 were prevented by external reasons from attending or broke off the treatment, 2 became private patients, 5 were cured, 8 lost their symptoms, 9 showed a very great improvement, 15 showed improvement, 12 showed no change, and 26 are still being treated.

'The Local Health Authority which inspects our clinic has repeatedly asked to be assured that no persons other than physicians practise there. This has always been the case; only qualified physicians and physicians with full theoretical training in psycho-analysis are allowed to treat patients. Instructional analysis, courses of lectures, and analyses under supervision have been carried on, as they have since the work of the clinic was begun, but since January 1, 1925, they have been conducted by the newly founded Training Institute.'

Frau Dr. Helene Deutsch gave the following report of the Training Institute of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society:

'The Training Institute of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society was founded in October, 1924.

'The ground had already been prepared for the new undertaking in two ways. In the first place it had at its disposal a well-organized Psycho-Analytical Clinic for the practical training of its students and, in the second place, the new organization had an excellent model in the Berlin Institute

and could avail itself of the experience acquired there during a period of several years. Hence when the Vienna Training Institute was founded the Berlin system was adopted with very few changes. We have gradually found that community of aim necessarily involves pursuing identical ways in order to attain our aim.

' In Vienna, as in Berlin, our principal task was to give a thorough theoretical and practical training in psycho-analysis. With this aim in view we have had to pay more attention to the quality than the number of our candidates, when selecting those who will be the analysts of the future.

' Of recent times interest in psycho-analytical training has perceptibly increased in Vienna as well as in Berlin. But we have observed that the real motive is not always a serious striving after true efficiency. Thus, it was characteristic that soon after the founding of the Vienna Institute a large number of candidates from Germany applied for admission. We soon discovered, however, that the choice of the place of training was determined by the desire to escape from the rigid discipline of the Berlin Institute and by an under-estimation of the new training centre, for, when these aspirants were informed of the system followed in Vienna, they drew back.

' For many years psycho-analytical work in Vienna has met with great difficulties owing to the very widespread *"wilde Analyse."* In contending with this we have followed Freud's example and have neither directly defended ourselves nor made a counter-attack. Our plan has been to take no notice of it, but on the one hand to work for the promotion of scientific research and on the other to carry on the organization of the psycho-analytical movement. Hence the training institute has come to be for us a place where Freud's discoveries can be preserved from the effects of erosion or misuse.

' The fact that the Vienna Training Institute as an independent body is not incorporated with the clinic would seem to differentiate our organization from that of Berlin, where the Polyclinic and the Training Institute are united in one. But the difference is clearly one of form and it arose under the pressure of local conditions. The Vienna Clinic won its existence in a long-drawn-out struggle with the medical organizations and the local authorities, and so for external reasons was forced to compromise on certain points, and this has fettered us in an annoying way in our plans for training. By founding the Training Institute, which is legally independent of the clinic, we have succeeded in doing away with these restrictions on our training. For instance, for the reasons I have given it was impossible for educationists to train at the clinic, but the institute can do good work in this field. Nevertheless, the clinic is closely bound up with the institute, for, to begin with, the second part of the course, that is the practical training, coincides with the work of the clinic and, in the second place, there is a personal bond between them, for the Director of the clinic is at the same

time a member of the Committee of the Training Institute, and takes part with it in the selection of candidates for training.

'Like our colleagues in Berlin we attach special importance to the conducting of analyses under supervision. Experience shows that this is not only extraordinarily valuable for the beginner but also gives both the instructor and the student himself insight into the latter's mental attitude and capacity attained. Thus it was once found that a young student who was conducting an analysis under supervision had difficulties in carrying it through owing to his own unresolved conflicts. The insight thus acquired caused him to return to the analyst who had conducted his instructional analysis, and though this delayed his training it certainly made his later analytical work easier.

'On the principle of qualitative selection only four of the many candidates who applied in the whole of last year were admitted to the institute. Our remaining nine students (at present they number thirteen in all) had been taken over after they had already finished their own analyses, and some of them had done work at the clinic under the Director, Dr. Hitschmann.

'In the theoretical training, the choice of lectures and the arrangement of seminars, etc., the governing body of the institute has followed the requirements and wishes of former students, while always holding to the principle of " depth before breadth ".'

Dr. Eitingon gave the following report of the work of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Institute in the period from May, 1924, to August, 1925 :

'For reasons which I will give later we are not making a detailed report of our work since the last Congress. Our first report dealt with the foundation of our organization and the first years of development of the therapeutic beginnings of our institute, the Polyclinic, in its medical-analytical aspect. Our second report dealt mainly with the further development of the teaching of analysis—the arrangements for training at our institute. We originally intended on this occasion to give you particulars of a large number of analyses which have now actually been concluded. We also specially wished to put before you comprehensive statistics, clear in every detail and based on a method of comparison which should admit of no doubtful interpretation. Such a table of statistics would be highly valuable. We have, however, decided to wait until we have a longer period on which to report. At the next Congress we hope to make such a report. We ourselves are only too conscious of the shortcomings of our statistics up till now. All those who are associated with our institute know that, during the first years of our existence, we had neither the opportunity nor the intention of compiling any statistics of scientific value, that is to say, statistics reduced to the most minute points of comparison. We have often said that such statistics would be the test of our courage to give to the world

the results obtained from a considerable body of clinical material with regard to the time we need for individual analyses and at the same time to require that those who wish to be cured by analysis should devote the necessary time to it.

'Let me quite briefly give you some figures. In the fifteen months of the period which falls within this report (of which we must deduct one month of holidays) 284 patients in all have visited our Polyclinic. Of these 177 came only to a single consultation or, in some cases, to more than one, while 107 were received for analytic treatment. Of those who came to the clinic 128 were men, 119 women and 37 children. This year again the number of children who came to the clinic showed no increase; curiously enough, there has been a decrease in the seven months of this year as compared with the seven working months of the same period last year.

'The persons attending the clinic may be roughly grouped according to age as follows: Under ten years, 6; between ten and fifteen, 10; between fifteen and twenty, 34; between twenty and thirty, 136; between thirty and forty, 91; between forty and fifty, 28; between fifty and sixty, 16; over sixty, 3.

'Some changes have taken place in the staff of the Polyclinic. Of our former assistants Dr. Hárnik has left, while Frau Dr. Naef, Dr. Löwenstein, Dr. Fenichel, who is well known in wider analytical circles, have joined the staff. We would take the opportunity of once more conveying to Dr. Hárnik our warmest thanks for his successful and self-sacrificing work at the institute.

'There is some increase in the number of analyses which can be conducted at the same time. Generally there were more than eighty, and sometimes nearly ninety. Some of our students, who have already for a long time been working under supervision, have now reached a more advanced stage and treat a larger number of analysands.

'Certain members of our Society whom we have mentioned in our two reports have, in the period which falls within this report, given us the most devoted help in grappling with our therapeutic task, which constantly grows heavier as our boundaries are enlarged. I refer to Drs. Boehm, Horney, Josine Müller and Kempner.

'Since, and thanks to, the introduction of our training scheme we may say that the teaching work of the institute has largely been consolidated. The practical conduct of the training is left entirely to the Training Committee, which in the two years of its existence has justified the action of the Association in deputing to it full authority.

'Enquiries and applications from candidates desirous of training in psycho-analysis pour in from all parts of Germany and, little by little and in an increasing degree, from other countries. It is remarkable that a larger and larger number of these candidates are persons concerned with education. For the most part all that we try to do for these latter candi-

dates is to send them back to their own profession of teaching with the great gain of some psycho-analytical training.

'Applications from physicians are on the whole fewer, though steady. During the period covered by this report fifteen instructional analyses have been conducted at the institute. These include some carried over from the period covered by our last report.

'The Salary Fund of the Berlin Society has abundantly justified itself by making these instructional analyses possible. Our programmes of lectures, regularly published in the *Zeitschrift*, have kept you informed of our theoretical courses and seminar work. So far there has still been a large and steady attendance at these lectures.

'Ten younger colleagues are working at the institute, under supervision. And further, it is due to the existence of the institute that analysis has begun to make its entry into another important sphere, from which it had hitherto been practically excluded in Berlin, I mean into the law courts.

'Some months ago Dr. Alexander had the opportunity of giving in court a very well-considered opinion, to which the judges gave full attention, on a case of kleptomania which he had successfully treated at the Polyclinic some time ago. Since then another court of law in Berlin has voluntarily asked the institute to give an opinion on a case on trial, and this was done by the present reporter some weeks ago. It is a very pretty coincidence that this should happen almost at the same time that psycho-analysis is dealing theoretically (in the work of Reik) with problems of criminology, in a manner which gives great promise for the future.'

In accordance with the wishes of the Conference on training Dr. Radó brought forward the following resolution :

'That each Branch Society of the International Psycho-Analytical Association shall elect a Training Committee, to consist of not more than seven members. That the Training Committees of the Branch Societies shall combine to form an International Training Board. That the International Training Board be the central organ of the International Psycho-Analytical Association for all questions connected with psycho-analytical training. That the General Committee of the International Psycho-Analytical Association have the authority to summon the International Training Board the first time.'

Dr. Federn proposed the following additional resolution :

'That the International Training Committee shall submit its interim decisions to the Branch Societies for approval.'

Dr. Ferenczi proposed that the General Meeting should elect Dr. Eitingon, who has done such distinguished work as the founder of the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Institute, to be the first President of the International Training Committee and empower him to summon an assembly.

Dr. Radó's resolution was unanimously adopted, with Dr. Ferenczi's

amendment. Dr. Federn's amendment was passed by a majority, after considerable discussion (Drs. Jones, Simmel, Radó, Eitingon, Sachs, Eder, Hitschmann).

Dr. Eitingon thanked the members for electing him and undertook to summon a meeting of the Board at the earliest opportunity.

Dr. Abraham desired, without interfering with the autonomy of the Branch Societies, to discuss the conditions of membership in the separate societies. He said that the lack of uniform conditions led to difficulties, for instance when a member went to live in a country where the conditions of the Branch Societies were more rigid. This specially concerned the American Societies, which refused to admit anyone to membership who was not a physician.

Dr. Oberndorf explained the point of view of the American Societies. The strictness of the American law against quack treatment, as well as certain unfortunate experiences in connection with American candidates for membership, who wished in this way to be able to set up an illegitimate practice, made it necessary to exclude persons other than physicians. Such persons, however, were entitled to attend the scientific meetings as guests. This decision of the American Society gave rise to a long debate. Dr. Stern and Dr. Glueck held that the American rule was necessary, but most of the other speakers pointed out the importance of non-medical psycho-analysis (analysis in its application to education and the mental sciences) and regarded the American restriction to physicians as a scientific retrogression. Dr. Ferenczi was even of opinion that this decision was contrary to the statutes. Other speakers, including Dr. Ophuijsen, Dr. Alexander and Dr. Liebermann, while emphasizing the autonomy of the separate societies and the necessity for taking local conditions into consideration, objected to the decision in question as inexpedient. In general, the meeting was of opinion that the work of the newly created International Board would automatically bring about an increasing similarity in the conditions of membership in the societies, but that, until this happened, the societies should take each other's points of view into consideration.

Dr. Abraham in conclusion pointed to the example of Berlin, where the wording of the statutes has left it possible for exceptions to be made, e.g. '*in general* only physicians will be admitted' or some such words. He asked the Americans to give a similar form to their decision. Dr. Eder proposed that candidates who desire to train in psycho-analysis abroad should be warned before their training begins that it does not in itself give them the right subsequently to become members of the Society in their native land. The resolution was adopted.

Dr. van Ophuijsen proposed that the article with reference to *Beirat* should be removed from the statutes of the Association and that instead a treasurer and two assessors should be co-opted to the General Committee. The President, Secretary and Treasurer should be resident in the same

place. He desired to leave for the consideration of the new Committee a number of further proposals for alterations in the statutes. His resolution was adopted.

Dr. Abraham reported that the Swiss Society desired to reintroduce the practice of discussion of the scientific papers read at the Congress. He referred to the unfortunate results which had attended this plan before and advocated the retaining of the present scheme for our Congresses drawn up by Professor Freud.

After some remarks by Dr. Reich and Dr. Sachs a resolution by Dr. Jones was adopted that the present plan should be retained but that in the programme of each scientific meeting half an hour should be allowed for any discussion which might arise.

Dr. Federn suggested that there should be a system of circulating books amongst the different societies.

Dr. van Emden having been voted into the chair by right of seniority, on Dr. Jones's proposal Dr. Karl Abraham was unanimously re-elected President of the Association.

Dr. Abraham thanked the members for electing him and asked Dr. Eitingon once more to take on the office of General Secretary. To the new office of Treasurer he nominated Dr. Karl Müller-Braunschweig and as assessors to the Committee Dr. Eduard Hitschmann and Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen. All these proposals were unanimously adopted.

Dr. Abraham proposed that the next Congress should be held at the beginning of September, 1927. His proposal was adopted.

Dr. Jones invited the next Congress to meet in England, while Dr. Federn suggested that it should be held at some place, to be decided on later, on the Adriatic Coast (Abbazia, Laurana, Brioni or Venice). If this suggestion were adopted the Vienna Society would assist the Italian Society in organizing the Congress.

When the question was put to the vote the majority decided for Dr. Federn's proposal.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

I.

AMERICAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

List of Members

1. Ames, Dr. T. H., 55 Park Ave., New York City.
2. Asch, Dr. J. J., 111 East 80th St., New York City.
3. Blumgart, Dr. Leonard, 57 W. 58th St., New York City.
4. Brill, Dr. A. A., 15 W. 70th St., New York City.
5. Burrow, Dr. Trigant, The Tuscany, Baltimore, Md. (*President*).
6. Chapman, Dr. Ross Mc., Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Towson, Md.
7. Clark, Dr. L. P., 2 E. 65th St., New York City.
8. Coriat, Dr. I. H., 416 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.
9. Emerson, Dr. L. E., 64 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass.
10. Farnell, Dr. F. J., 219 Waterman St., Providence, R. I.
11. Frink, Dr. H. W., 17 E. 38th St., New York City.
12. Glueck, Dr. Bernard, 9 W. 48th St., New York City.
13. Hamill, Dr. Ralph, 30 N. Michigan Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
14. Hutchings, Dr. R. H., Utica State Hospital, Utica, N. Y.
15. Jeliffe, Dr. S. E., 64 W. 56th St., New York City.
16. Johnson, Dr. Lorin, 1900 24th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
17. Kardiner, Dr. A., 1150 Fifth Ave., New York City.
18. Kempf, Dr. E. J., 100 W. 59th St., New York City.
19. McPherson, Dr. Donald J., Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston, Mass.
20. Meyer, Dr. Adolf, Phipps Clinic, Baltimore, Md.
21. Meyer, Dr. M. A., 17 E. 38th St., New York City.
22. Menninger, Dr. Carl A., Mulvane Bldg., 503–508, Topeka, Kan.
23. Oberndorf, Dr. C. P., 8 E. 54th St., New York City.
24. Peck, Dr. Martin W., 638 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
25. Polon, Dr. Albert, 911 Park Ave., New York City.
26. Pope, Dr. Curran, 115 W. Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
27. Reed, Dr. Ralph, 180 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
28. Singer, Dr. H. D., State Psychopathic Hospital, Dunning, Ill.
29. Smeltz, Dr. Geo. W., Westinghouse Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
30. Stern, Dr. Adolph, 40 W. 84th St., New York City (*Secretary*).
31. Stragnell, Dr. Gregory, 120 E. 40th St., New York City.
32. Stuart, Dr. D. D. V., The Wyoming, Washington, D. C.
33. Sullivan, Dr. H. S., Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Towson, Md.

34. Taneyhill, Dr. G. Lane, 405 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md.
35. Thompson, Dr. J. C., 1 S. Gray St., Baltimore, Md.
36. Walker, Dr. W. K., Westinghouse Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
37. Wells, Dr. Lyman, 74 Fenwood Rd., Waverley, Mass.
38. White, Dr. Wm. A., St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C.
39. Wholey, Dr. C. C., 4616 Bayard St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
40. Young, Dr. G. A., 424 Brandeis Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

Honorary Members

Abraham, Dr. Karl, Berlin.
Ferenczi, Dr. S., Budapest.
Freud, Prof. Dr. Sigmund, Wien.
Rank, Dr. Otto, Wien.

II

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

List of Members

1. Dr. Karl Abraham (*President*), Berlin-Grunewald, Bismarckallee 14.
2. Dr. Franz Alexander, Berlin W. 15, Kurfürstendamm 206/207.
3. Frau Dr. Therese Benedek, Leipzig, Emilienstrasse 2.
4. Dr. Felix Boehm (*Treasurer*), Berlin W. 50, Rankestrasse 20.
5. Dr. Max Eitingon (*Secretary*), Berlin W. 10, Rauchstrasse 4.
6. Dr. Georg Groddeck, Baden-Baden, Werderstrasse 14.
7. Frau Dr. Clara Happel, Frankfurt a. M., Bethmannstrasse 44.
8. Dr. Jenö Hárnik, Berlin W. 15, Ludwigkirchplatz 12.
9. Frau Dr. Karen Horney, Berlin W. 15, Kaiserellee 202.
10. Frl. Dr. Salomea Kempner, Berlin W. 30, Barbarossastrasse 32/II.
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12. Dr. Heinrich Koerber, Berlin W. 15, Meinekestrasse 7.
13. Dr. Hans Liebermann, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Trautenaustrasse 18.
14. Dr. Rudolf Löwenstein, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Schlüterstrasse 72.
15. Frau Dr. Josine Müller, Berlin-Schmargendorf, Helgolandstrasse 1.
16. Dr. Carl Müller-Braunschweig, Berlin-Schmargendorf, Helgolandstr. 1.
17. Dr. Sándor Radó, Berlin-Schöneberg, Hauptstrasse 41.
18. Dr. Hanns Sachs, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Mommsenstrasse 7.
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27. Dr. Hans Lampl, Berlin W. 10, Friedrich-Wilhelmstrasse 4, Pension Krause.
28. Dr. Heinrich Meng, Stuttgart, Charlottenhof.
29. Cand. med. Walter Schmideberg, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Kaiserallee 32.
30. Frl. Ada Schott, Berlin W. 15, Fasanenstrasse 43.

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Dr. Ernest Jones, London.

III

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

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2. Mr. Cyril Burt, 30 Princess Road, Regent's Park, London, N.W. 1.
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4. Dr. M. D. Eder, 2 Harley Place, London, N.W. 1.
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8. Dr. J. Glover, 6 Bentinck Street, London, W. 1.
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11. Dr. Ernest Jones (*President*), 81 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
12. Miss Barbara Low, 13 Guilford Street, London, W.C. 1.
13. Dr. T. W. Mitchell, Hadlow, Kent.
14. Dr. Sylvia Payne, 57 Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
15. Dr. Stanford Read, 11 Weymouth Street, London, W. 1.
16. Dr. John Rickman, 26 Devonshire Place, London, W. 1.
17. Dr. R. M. Riggall, 31 Wimpole Street, London, W. 1.
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19. Dr. Vaughan Sawyer, 131 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
20. Miss E. Sharpe, 16 Gordon Street, London, W.C. 1.
21. Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart (*Treasurer*), Harcourt House, Cavendish Square, London, W. 1.
22. Mr. James Strachey, 41 Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1.
23. Mrs. James Strachey, 41 Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1.
24. Mr. A. G. Tansley, Grantchester, Cambridge.
25. Dr. H. Torrance Thomson, 13 Lansdowne Crescent, Edinburgh.
26. Dr. A. C. Wilson, 27 Nottingham Place, London, W. 1.
27. Dr. Maurice Wright, 86 Brook Street, London, W. 1.

Associate Members

1. Miss Cecil M. Baines, c/o Miss Urwick, 9 Eldon Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.
2. Dr. Mary Barkas, 46 Connaught Street, London, W. 2.
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8. Dr. W. Eddison, Banstead Mental Hospital, Sutton, Surrey.
9. Rev. P. Gough, St. Mark's Vicarage, 5 Abbey Road, London, N.W. 8.
10. Miss I. A. Grant Duff, 22 Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C. 1.
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Dr. S. Ferenczi, Budapest.
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IV

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V

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14. Dr. Géza Szilágyi, Budapest, VII., Damjanich-utca 28/a.

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VI

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(* Denotes Member of Council.)

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9. Capt. N. C. Mitter, M.B., I.M.S., 46 Raja Dinendra St., Calcutta.
10. Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A., P.R.S., The Chummery, Ramna P.O. Dacca.
11. Prof. Rangin Chander Halder, M.A., B. N. College, Patna.
12. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M.A., M.B., Civil Surgeon, Malda.
13. Capt. J. R. Dhar, I.M.S., 6 George Town, Allahabad.
14. Major Owen Berkeley-Hill, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O. Ranchi, B. N. R.
15. Lt.-Col. R. C. McWatters, M.D., I.M.S., Shajahanpur.
16. Dr. P. C. Das, M.B., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P. O. Ranchi, B. N. R.

VII

NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

1. Ames, Dr. Thaddeus H., 55 Park Ave., New York City.
2. Asch, Dr. Joseph J., 780 Lexington Ave., New York City.
3. Blumgart, Dr. L., 57 West 58th St., New York City (*Vice-president*).
4. Brill, Dr. A. A., 15 West 70th St., New York City (*President*).
5. Clark, Dr. L. Pierce, 2 East 65th St., New York City.
6. Coriat, Dr. Isidore, 416 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.
7. Farnell, Dr. F. J., 219 Waterman St., Providence, R. I.
8. Feigenbaum, Dr. Dorian, 18 Gramercy Park, New York City.

9. Frink, Dr. Horace W., 17 East 38th St., New York City.
10. Glueck, Dr. Bernard, 117 West 58th St., New York City.
11. Jackson, Dr. Josephine, 1971 Morton Ave., Pasadena, California.
12. Jelliffe, Dr. Smith E., 64 West 56th St., New York City.
13. Jewett, Dr. Stephan P., 129 E. 30th St., New York City.
14. Kardiner, Dr. A., 1150 Fifth Ave., New York City.
15. Kenworthy, Dr. Marion E., 9 W. 48th St., New York City.
16. Lane, Dr. Arthur G., New Jersey State Hospitale, Greystone Park, N. J.
17. Lehrman, Dr. Philip R., 120 Riverside Drive, New York City.
18. Levin, Dr. Hyman, 33 Allen St., Buffalo, N. Y.
19. Meyer, Dr. Monroe A., 17 E. 38th St., New York City (*Secretary*).
20. Oberndorf, Dr. C. P., 116 West 59th St., New York City (*Member of Committee*).
21. Polon, Dr. Albert, 911 Park Ave., New York City (*Treasurer*).
22. Rothschild, Dr. Leonard, 116 West 59th St., New York City.
23. Sands, Dr. Irving J., 202 New York Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
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25. Smith, Dr. Jos., 848 Park Place, Brooklyn.
26. Solley, Dr. John B., 213 East 61st St., New York City.
27. Spaulding, Dr. Edith B., 418 W. 20th St., New York City.
28. Stern, Dr. A., 40 West 84th St., New York City (*Member of Committee*).
29. Schoenfeld, Dr. Dudley D., 116 W. 59th St., New York City.
30. Wechsler, Dr. I. S., 1291 Madison Ave., New York City.
31. Williams, Dr. Frankwood E., 370 Seventh Ave., New York City.

Associate Member

32. Mayer, Dr. Max D., 15 West 89th St., New York City.

VIII

RUSSIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

1. Frau Dr. R. A. Averbuch, Moskau, Sadowo-Kudrinskaja, 30.
2. Prof. J. D. Ermakow, Moskau, Dewitschje Polje, B. Bojeninowski, 19.
3. Dr. B. D. Friedmann, Moskau, Sadovo-Triumphalnaja, 8, W. 7.
4. Frau Dr. Lia Geschelin, Moskau, Kammerherskij, 4.
5. Prof. J. W. Kannabich, Moskau, Pokrovskoje-Streschnewo, Sanatorium.
6. Viktor L. Kopp, Gesandte der Sowjetunion, Tokio (Japan).
7. Al. R. Luria, Moskau, Tverskaja, Trechprudny per. 2/7, W. 5 (*Secretary*).
8. Dr. Wilhelm Rohr, Moskay, Tverskaja, 34, W. 20.
9. L. K. Schleger, Moskau, Wadkowski per. 5.
10. Prof. Otto J. Schmidt, Moskau, Granowski-Str., 3.
11. Vera Schmidt, Moskau, Granowski-Str., 3.
12. Prof. A. A. Sidorow, Moskau, Arbat, Afanasjewski per.

13. Frau Dr. Sabina Spielrein, Rostow a. Don, Puschkinskaja, 97.
14. G. P. Weisberg, Omsk, Sibirien.
15. Dr. M. W. Wulff, Moskau, Kusnjetzki Most, 12 (*President*).

IX

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2. Dr. med. Hans Behn-Eschenburg, Nervenarzt, Küsnacht-Zürich.
3. Dr. med. Ludwig Binswanger, Sanatorium Belle-Vue, Kreuzlingen (Thurgau).
4. Dr. med. Fritz Blattner, Sekundärarzt, Kant. Irrenanstalt Königsfelden (Aargau).
5. Dr. med. Elsa Blum-Sapas, Englische Anlage 8, Bern.
6. Dr. med. Ernst Blum, Nervenarzt, Englische Anlage 8, Bern.
7. Priv.-Doz. Dr. med. Rudolf Brun, Nervenarzt, Theaterstrasse 14, Zürich.
8. Dr. med. Hans Christoffel, Nervenarzt, Albanvorstadt 42, Basel.
9. Dr. jur. Paul Dubi, Mittlere Strasse 127, Basel.
10. Dr. med. Hedwig Etter, Schönbergstrasse 9, Zürich.
11. Albert Furrer, Lehrer an der Kinderbeobachtungsstation Stephansburg-Burghölzli, Uetikon a. S. (Zürich).
12. Dr. med. Emma Fürst, Nervenarzt, Apollostrasse 21, Zürich.
13. Dr. med. Max Geiser, Dufourstrasse 39, Basel.
14. Dr. phil. Ulrich Grüninger, Bezirkslehrer, Reinach (Aargau).
15. Walter Hofmann, Primarlehrer, Freie Strasse 208 (Zürich).
16. Direktor Dr. med. Arthur Kielholz, Kant. Irrenanstalt Königsfelden (Aargau).
17. Dr. med. Adolf Löpfe, Nervenarzt, St. Gallen.
18. Stud. med. Emil Lüthy, Kunstmaler, Utoquai 39, Zürich.
19. Dr. med. Hans Meier-Müller, Nervenarzt, Füsslistrasse 4, Zürich.
20. Priv.-Doz. Dr. med. M. Minkowski, Oberassistent am Hirnanatomischen Institut, Physikstrasse 6, Zürich.
21. Priv.-Doz. Dr. phil. Ferdinand Morel, 10 Avenue de Champel, Genève.
22. Dr. med. Sophie Morgenstern, 1. Assistenzarzt, Kantonale Irrenanstalt Münsterlingen (Thurgau).
23. Dr. med. Max Müller, 1. Assistenzarzt, Kant. Irrenanstalt, Münsingen (Bern).
24. Dr. med. Mira Oberholzer-Gincburg, Nervenarzt, Utoquai 39, Zürich.
25. Dr. med. Emil Oberholzer, Nervenarzt, Utoquai 39, Zürich.

26. Dr. med. Charles Odier, Nervenarzt, 24 Boulevard des Philosophes, Genève.
27. Albert Peter, Primarlehrer, Eidmattstrasse 29, Zürich.
28. Hans Pfenninger, Pfarrer, Neftenbach (Zürich).
29. Dr. phil. Oskar Pfister, Pfarrer, Schienhutgasse 6, Zürich.
30. Professor Dr. phil. Jean Piaget, Psychologisches Laboratorium der Universität, Neuchatel.
31. Dr. med. Philipp Sarasin, Nervenarzt, Gartenstrasse 65, Basel.
32. Dr. med. Raymond de Saussure, 2 Tertasse, Geneve.
33. Dr. med. Hans Jakob Schmid, Leysin (Waadt).
34. Professor Dr. phil. Ernst Schneider, Wisby-Prospekt 14, Riga.
35. Direktor Hermann Tobler, Landerziehungsheim Hof-Oberkirch, Kaltbrunn (St. Gallen).
36. Cand. med. Arnold Weber, Gutenbergstrasse 7, Bern.
37. Priv.-Doz. Dr. med. Gustav Adolf Wehrli, Leonhardstrasse 1, Zürich.
38. Hans Zulliger, Oberlehrer, Ittigen bei Bern.

X

VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

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1. Aichhorn, August, Wien, V., Schönbrunnerstrasse 110.
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10. Freud, Prof. Dr. Sigm., Wien, IX., Berggasse 19 (*President*).
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19. Kraus, Flora, Wien, XVIII., Julienstrasse 44.
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22. Marcinowski, Dr. J., Bad Heilbrunn, Isartalbahn, Bayern.

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27. Rank, Beate, Wien, I., Grünangergasse 3—5.
28. Rank, Dr. Otto, Wien, I., Grünangergasse 3—5 (*Secretary*).
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36. Storfer, A. J., Wien, IX., Porzellangasse 43.
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39. Weiss, Dr. Karl, Wien, IV., Schwindgasse 12.
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Karl Abraham.